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The 1864 Election

Opposition Campaigns

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

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RESOLUTIONS

PASSED BY A LARGE DEMOCRATIC MEETING
HELD AT BENTON, LUZERNE COUNTY, PA.,
JULY 4th, 1863.

ORGANIZATION:

The meeting was organized by the unanimous appointment of the following officers:

President of the day: Theron Finn, Esq.; Vice Presidents: Thos. Smith, John Patrick, Lewis H. Litts, Henry Ager, William Owen, Eli N. Bacon, Daniel Howell, J. Van Husan, Wm. Hartly, Thos. Voyle, R. Cataback, and T. O. Robinson; Secretaries: Alvah Van Fleet and Uriah Gritman.

RESOLUTIONS:

Whereas, It hath pleased God to permit us to meet once more under the folds of our national flag—that flag rendered sacred to every American heart by the glorious achievements of our patriotic fathers, whose hallowed dust is now sleeping in honored graves, and whose memories every true American and patriot must ever revere; we, the citizens of the counties of Luzerne, Susquehanna and Wyoming, now assembled (and for the last time it may be) to celebrate the Anniversary of American Independence, in this Union of States unbroken, many of which are now being desecrated by an unholy war, and drenched in fraternal blood; and Whereas, We still love our country and Union and the Constitution framed by our fathers; do now, in the name of reason, humanity and the obligations we owe to civilization, to our common country, and to our God, most solemnly protest against the further prosecution of this war against Southern States, or any State, for the emancipation of negro slavery, for the subjugation of States, or for any other purpose than the settlement of an honorable peace between the North and South; and to this end we hold that the bloody experience of the last two and a half years fully demonstrates the imperious necessity of calling for a cessation of hostilities, and an armistice between the belligerent parties at the earliest possible moment, as the only practicable means of restoring peace and tranquility to our now distracted country, and saving a further effusion of blood and useless waste of treasure; as war and bloodshed can never effect a reunion with the South, as our experience, and the futile experiments of the Lincoln Administration, fully demonstrate. The records of Lincoln aggressions and the reverses of his armies already show a state and condition in our national affairs of the most frightful and appalling character, with not one redeeming feature to rest a single hope of success upon, while we cling to this dissolving Union of States, and to the glorious constellation of stars and stripes with a pertinacious hold, praying to "Him who doeth all things well," for the salvation of our country and nation. We will unite our supplications, with every patriot in the land, for a speedy deliverance from Abraham Lincoln's bloody Abolition rule, and the further desolation of our once prosperous country.

And Whereas, This once strong and happy people is now bowed down in the dust, mourning in the agony and tears of dissolution. Reason, justice, constitution and law no longer are regarded by the powers that be; negro fanaticism, corruption, and wickedness are now most potent in the counsels of the nation at Washington. Upon every breeze is borne the sad lamentations and groans of untold sorrow and Executive infamy. In the hut and hamlet where the poor man dwells, and in the mansion where the more wealthy have their homes, in the streets, in our churches, in the private circles of life—everywhere we turn our eyes behold sorrowing faces, and the dark and gloomy habiliments of mourning. And with all these are mingled the widow's woes and

orphan's tears. All these sad signs of universal human suffering we behold in portions of our country remote from the battle-field or place where the contending armies have gone. What be horrible scenes of blood and slaughter are in the plains of carnage and death, those only who have witnessed them can describe. We ask ourselves now, as heretofore, for what end is all this sacrifice of human life and national treasure? And then, casting our eyes over the bloody history of this war, we find the only truthful answer that can be made is, "that Abraham Lincoln, like Caesar, might be great," and that the "nigger might be free." In view of this sad picture of our national affairs we come not here to day to rejoice as in bygone times we were wont to do on each returning Fourth of July, when peace and prosperity were smiling upon our land and country. To-day we must bow our faces down low in the dust, and mourn for our bleeding country, now being smitten with a despot's hand, and mingle our tears with a sorrowing people, imploring God in His mercy to save this Union from eternal dissolution and the further curse of this desolating war, so unwisely provoked, and so wretchedly conducted by this corrupt Administration. We see in the President and his Cabinet an unhallowed ambition and wicked design to destroy our Union and Constitutional government under the pretense of restoring the Union. A vain and futile attempt to conquer and subjugate some of the States, whose armies thus far prove to be more than equal to our own, Northern States invaded, Washington a besieged city, the citizens Constitutional rights ignored, and anarchy and confusion all over the North.—Why, then, should we contribute more human victims to gratify the wicked ambition of Abraham Lincoln and his infamous Cabinet in the vain attempt to subjugate the South? In Washington, to-day, sits the President in the chair of State, once occupied by the "Father of his Country," with his infamous retinue of advisers around him—all seething in sin and wickedness, and all unmoved by the ghastly scenes of death and horror almost constantly brought to their knowledge. The President with his huge feet upon the Constitution, the flag of this once proud nation, now discolored, and dripping with human gore, while he, Abraham Lincoln, "a man without a tear," cries, "More men—more war—more money—and more sacrifice of fraternal blood." Add to all these, the legions of contractors, army sneaks and myrmidons, who throng about the White House, bowing and "bending the plant hinges of their knees, that thrift may follow fawning;" gobbling up the nation's wealth as jackals and vultures gobble up the life-blood of our people on the battle-field when the din and smoke of deadly conflict subsides—and we have but the faint outlines of the President, his Cabinet, and their conduct of the cruel, unholy war inaugurated by the Lincoln Administration. The North cannot conquer the South and hold them in subjugation with less than a standing army of 800,000 men, if at all. Do the people of the North desire such additional burdens of taxation added to what Lincoln's Abolition war has already brought upon the country, and all for the sake of negro emancipation? We say, no. We protest against the further prosecution of this unconstitutional assumption of Executive power by the President, and for the further and following reasons:—Abraham Lincoln is a Secessionist of the roughest dye, and advocated the right of revolution in Congress in 1848, and practices to-day more wicked treason to the Constitution than Jeff Davis ever did in his life. (See Appendix to Congressional Globe, page 94, 13th Congress.) If secession is treason in Jeff Davis, the records show that President Lincoln preached in Congress in 1848, what Jeff Davis is practising in 1863.—

Jeff Davis and the South declare that they are fighting for their independence. Abraham Lincoln says, "Let the Constitution slide," cries Union and negro, and goes in for a monarchy, to be established when his term of office terminates, and to this end ignores the Constitution and the law of the land, under the plea of "military necessity," that infamous doctrine of all tyrants who ever cursed the world before him. There is a point beyond which human endurance cannot be forced, or induced to go, by threat, terror or sophistry. Abraham Lincoln has nearly brought the free citizens of the North to a line of universal resistance to his mandates, which the signs all over the North plainly indicate. Multiplied wrongs, sufferings, and insult, if further attempted by the President, may bring forth their bitter fruits, before the 4th day of March, 1865; and we say to the President and his Cabinet, "beware of the Ides of November," remember the history of other usurpers and tyrants who have gone before you—or you may have use for the army of the Potomac besides that duty they are now engaged in, in order to secure you a safe conduct from the White House to Springfield, Illinois. Self-preservation is nature's first law. Imbecility and rottenness are but poor safeguards for any tyrant and usurper when the people become aroused. You have been "sowing the wind," the ominous clouds are gathering in the North, East and West, portending a coming storm. Abraham Lincoln, are you prepared for the whirlwind of public indignation, a few more outrages on private rights and the Constitution of the country may produce? Count all the cost, before you push the free people of the North to extremities; for, depend upon it, they will struggle long and suffer much before they will surrender their personal liberties.

Resolved, That if secession is treason now, under the Constitution and laws of the United States, it was treason in 1848; and that by the rule of interpretation established by Abraham Lincoln's executive government he is guilty of treason, and for his numerous wanton violations of the Constitution of the United States he ought to be impeached.

Resolved, That the election of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States, was a burlesque upon our Government and a gross fraud upon the American people. His administration is a foul blot upon our nation, and a stigma upon civilization, worthy only of the Crusaders of the barbarous ages, he having betrayed the people and wickedly violated the Constitution in numerous instances, which his official oath solemnly bound him before high heaven to "preserve, protect and defend."

Resolved, That we indorse the doctrines contained in the two Gov. Seymours' letters to the New York Peace Convention.

Resolved, That we will and do now, pledge "our lives and sacred honor" to maintain free speech and a free press, to defend and preserve all our personal constitutional rights, and no man shall invade them any longer with impunity, without authority of law and legal process, and then, "a little child can lead us." We will support the Constitution and faithfully observe the laws; protect the citizen in the enjoyment of all his lawful rights from military aggressions, under all circumstances, at all times; and to this end we will trust in God and keep our powder dry.

Resolved, That these resolutions and proceedings be published in the "New York Daily News" and "The Caucasian," and the Democratic newspapers of Luzerne, Susquehanna and Wyoming counties.

Theron Finn, Pres't,

A. Van Fleet,
Uriah A. Gritman, } Secretaries.

THE CHICAGO CONVENTION.

The Discussion of Gen. McClellan's Merits—Speech of Mr. Harris—Gen. George W. Morgan Defends the Principle of Arbitrary Arrests.

The telegraph has already given the spirit of the debate which took place in the Chicago Convention on Aug. 31, when Gen. McClellan's name was first brought forward for the Presidential nomination, but the following detailed report, which we take from the Chicago Times, is worth placing upon record.

"Mr. HARRIS, of Maryland—I rise to second the nomination of THOMAS H. SEYMOUR, of Connecticut; and in doing so, I wish to say one word to the convention in favor of him. THOMAS H. SEYMOUR is second to no man in the country. His record is before the country, and no man dares say that there is a stain upon it. We have come here from the down-trodden State of Maryland, and we do not desire to see placed in nomination the man most active in oppressing her. We have been oppressed, as you know. All our rights have been trampled upon, and the strong arm of the military has been over us, as it rests upon us now, as it was instituted by your nominee. [Confusion of applause and hisses, mainly from the galleries.] Admit the fact that all our liberties and rights have been destroyed, and I ask you, in the name of honor, will you reward the man who struck the first blow? [Applause and hisses.] From the indications I see here to-day, I have reason to fear that the man who has been in the front of this usurpation will be the successful candidate.

Mr. LAMBERTON, of Pennsylvania—I rise to a point of order. There is no question before the Convention.

Mr. OLDS, of Ohio—I rise to a point of order. [Confusion.]

The PRESIDENT—Will the gentleman state his point of order?

Mr. OLDS, of Ohio—My point of order is this: [Hisses and a voice, "Give us free speech."] It is not against the speech I raise the question. My point of order is this, we have met here as a deliberative convention, to nominate a candidate for the Presidency, and a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, and, while from these galleries are uttered such marks of applause and disapprobation, we cannot proceed with the business of the Convention.

The PRESIDENT—I implore the many thousands of freemen here assembled, in God's name, not to violate the freedom of speech on this occasion. [Loud cheers.] He who will here is not a true friend of the Democratic party. [Cheers.] In answer to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, I would say that the order now is the presentation of candidates for the Presidency. [Cheers.] The gentleman from Maryland is in order. [Applause.] But in saying this I trust that the same courtesy and forbearance which are extended to him, as his right, will, on his part, be reciprocated—that nothing will be said by him such as to operate against whoever may be the nominee of this Convention. [Loud cheering.]

Mr. HARRIS: I am in the habit of contending for the liberty of speech; I have been censured on the floor of our State Senate for the exercise of that right; and my right on this occasion is to speak to the character of the men whom you have presented. I claim it as a right to state that one of the men whom you have nominated is a tyrant. [Hisses and cheers.] Gen. McClellan was the very first man who inaugurated the system of usurping State rights. [Uproar.] This I can prove, and I pledge myself, if you will hear me, to prove every charge in the indictment. And it is the duty of a jury when a charge is made which is proven, to convict and not reward the offender. Maryland has been cruelly trampled upon by this man, and I cannot consent, as a delegate from that State, to allow his nomination to go unopposed. What you ask me to do is, in reality, to support the man who stabbed my own mother; and I, for one—and I believe I speak for the whole delegation from Maryland—will never do it. We will never, never consent that the State of Maryland shall be so dishonored. What is it a fact that you care nothing for the dishonor of a sovereign State? Is it really the case that you can consent that the man who overthrew liberty and crushed under foot the free institutions of a State shall receive reward instead of punishment for his tyranny? In old times it was the doctrine that an injury done to one State was an injury inflicted on all; and, instead of rewarding the perpetrator of the injury, each State should come forward to resent it. Now you propose a reward in the shape of Presidential honors to the man who first set the iron heel of despotism upon my State. In the first place he arrested—

Mr. PATRICK, of Pennsylvania: I rise, Sir, to a question of order. I ask it in order, it is competent in a delegate, while rising, possibly to propose a candidate for the Presidency, to discuss the merits of another candidate? [Cheers.]

The PRESIDENT: Gentlemen of the convention, the gentleman from Pennsylvania has risen to a point of order. It is this—whether a gentleman has a right, in presenting the name of a candidate, to discuss the merits of others who have been already placed in nomination. The chair is of opinion that, inasmuch as it is the right of every delegate, in presenting the name of a candidate, to make considerations in his favor, it is equally the right of others to discuss the merits of that candidate. [Cheers.] But, while the chair thus feels itself impelled to make that decision, it once more appeals to every delegate to see that the

mode of presenting objections is not such as shall tend to destroy the harmony of this convention: [Loud cheering.]

Mr. HARRIS, reading from a newspaper: The date of this is September 12, 1861, and it is as follows:

Maj.-Gen. N. P. Banks, U. S. A.

GENERAL: After a full consultation with the President, Secretaries of State, War, &c., it has been decided to effect the operation proposed for the 15th. Arrangements have been made to have a government steamer at Annapolis to receive the prisoners and carry them to their destination.

Some four or five of the chief men in the affair are to be arrested to-day. When they meet on the 15th you will have everything prepared to arrest the whole party, and be sure that none escape.

It is understood that you will arrange with Gen. Dix and Gov. SEWARD the meeting place on the 15th; please be prepared. I would be glad to have you advise me frequently of your arrangements in regard to this very important matter.

If it is successfully carried out, it will go far towards breaking the back-bone of the rebellion. It will probably be well to have a special train, quietly prepared to take the prisoners to Annapolis.

I leave this exceedingly important affair to your tact and discretion—the absolute necessity of secrecy and success.

With the highest regard, I am, my dear General, your

Respectfully,
(Signed) GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN,
Maj.-Gen. U. S. A.

[The delegate read this letter amid considerable

confusion.]

Mr. HARRIS, continuing—Now, Sir, that was the

document.

A delegate (GEO. TAYLOR)—I move that after all this

is read, it be published in the Black Republican pa-

pers. [Laughter.]

Mr. HARRIS—I am here for the purpose of presenting to this convention the character of the man whom you have nominated, and it seems you do not wish to hear it. [A voice—"We know it."] Yes, you know it, and yet you refuse to allow it to be made known. [Three cheers with a will.] Well, Sir, this is the document on which GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN, in September, 1861, broke up the Legislature of a sovereign State, deliberately and with full purpose, in order to exercise tyranny and oppression in advance of ABRAHAM LINCOLN. Now here is a man who has violated the laws of our State—here is a man who has dealt a fatal blow to the institutions of our country; and yet you ask delegates from Maryland—yet you ask those who sympathize with Maryland as none else can sympathize—you ask men who are still smarting under the wrong by McClellan inflicted, to go to the polls and cast their free votes for such an one as he! Why, Mr. President, how long do you suppose it was since the representatives of Maryland were imprisoned within the walls of Fort Warren? Sixteen months did WALLACE, and Scott, and their comrades, and colleagues, suffer imprisonment within the walls of that prison, deprived of the sympathy of their friends and the comforts of home. Sixteen long months the prison doors were closed upon them, and the man by whom they were closed was GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN, whom you indicate as your favorite to-day. [Cheers and disapprobation.] Well, Sir, I look upon the acts of Gen. McClellan as not striking at the free ballot of the State of Maryland, but as a terrorism over the Legislature of the State. And all this charges you can make against ABRAHAM LINCOLN and against BENJAMIN BUTLER. I can make and sustain against this man, GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN, [Hisses, cheers, and great confusion.] I now proceed to another count in the indictment. On Oct. 29th, 1861, he thus wrote:

"GENERAL: There is an apprehension amongst Union citizens in many parts of Maryland of attempted interference in the election to take place on the 6th of November next. In order to prevent this, the Major-General Commanding—[and who gentleman was the Major-General Commanding but GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN?—] directs you to go to a sufficient detachment to protect Union voters, and to see that nothing is allowed to interfere with their rights as voters."

[Here the speaker was interrupted with cries of "That's right," "Good, good," while vociferous cheers were given for Gen. McClellan.]

The PRESIDENT—I trust this convention will give the gentleman from Maryland a fair hearing. You are not only doing an injustice to that gentleman by interrupting him, but to Gen. McClellan also. [Cheers.] There is no attack made here which cannot be made elsewhere; and the devoted friends who are supporting him here desire that all the charges which can be urged against him may be preferred at once, as they feel that they are each and all susceptible of a satisfactory explanation. [Loud cheering.] I repeat, that those interruptions on the part of the audience are not only unjust to the cause, unjust to the gentleman from Maryland, but unjust to the distinguished man who has been placed in nomination. [Cheers.] When the gentleman has concluded his remarks—and I trust he will be allowed to do so without further interruption—a full opportunity will be given to one in the convention who stands ready to make the fullest explanation of the course of Gen. McClellan. [Prolonged cheers and cries of "Good."]

Mr. HARRIS—I want nothing, Sir, but a fair field, I assure you. [Cries of "Hurry up, for God's sake!"]

One of the Ohio delegation, Mr. HARRIS, there walked across the amphitheatre, and requested Mr. HARRIS to go to the platform, which, after some reluctance, he consented to do.

The President rose amidst the prevailing confusion and said: I hope the convention will allow the gentleman from Maryland to present his remarks in his own way. When he has said what he desires, it

say, there will be ample opportunity to reply.

A DELEGATE—I wish to move that the speakers be restricted to one hour.

The PRESIDENT—And the delegate from Maryland has not yet occupied his hour. [A laugh.]

Mr. HARRIS—I would have concluded long ago, Mr. President, except for the interruptions that have been made by this assembly itself, and, certainly, you cannot take advantage of your own wrong, and prevent me proceeding. [The speaker then read the remainder of the letter, which authorized Gen. BANKS, in order to prevent these alleged treasonable designs, to "suspend the writ of habeas corpus."] Now, Sir, who feared the Disunionists of Maryland would ever interfere with the Unionist? With the power in the hands of the Administrator, with the power in the hands of the Governor of Maryland, where in the name of God was it to be supposed, except in the mind of some hypocrite, that it was necessary for some military force to come into the State and suspend that great writ, the habeas corpus? [Cheers.] And why were these "Disunionists" of Maryland allowed to go at large till the day of election; said he, you must arrest them before going to the polls and you may discharge them after the election. [Cheers.] Why was this done? Why, if there was danger to the country in allowing these men to remain at large, were they not arrested till the day of election in the State, by order of this Gen. McClellan. Those things that we have charged so frequently against ABRAHAM LINCOLN, he, GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN, has been guilty of himself. [Cheers and hisses.] Sir, he declares that, under the plea of military necessity—that tyrant's plea of military necessity—ABRAHAM LINCOLN has the power of abolishing one of the institutions of Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky; the power of abolishing the institution of Slavery—a great right that you consider yourselves bound to protect, and to protect Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky, in protecting. Now, what have you to say to this charge against GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN. [Cheers and hisses.] You have to meet them one way or another, for they will be made by an opponent, and it is better to hear them from a Democrat before the canvass commences. [Cheers.] What, then, have you to say in his favor? Why, as a military man, he has been defeated everywhere! [Cries of "No, no," and cheers.] The siege of Richmond was not, I think, a success; the battle of Antietam was not a success, and in him as a military leader you have nothing whatever to brag of, while you have combined with and destroyed the fact that he has interfered with and destroyed the civil rights of the people. If Gen. McClellan, when ABRAHAM LINCOLN told him to arrest the Legislature of Maryland, had said to him, "I have received a commission as Commander at your hands—you can take it back before I become a tyrant," he would have stood before the world as a man; but inasmuch as he received and acted upon instructions which struck a blow at civil liberty, he became the mere tool of ABRAHAM LINCOLN. [Cheers and hisses.] I recollect the story of a militia man in the time of Louis XIII. The King, Louis, bore much hatred to the great Corps, and, resolving of his army to procure a commission to a Marshal of his army to procure him some one who would dispatch him. The Marshal replied, "Sir, we have many brave and gallant soldiers in our army, but we have not one assassin." But ABRAHAM LINCOLN was able to find an assassin of State rights in GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN. [Cheers for McClellan and hisses.] You ask me to go home to Maryland—bound and persecuted Maryland, which has suffered every injury since the tyrant put his iron heels upon it—you ask me to return there, and going forward to the polls, vote for GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN, the very man who destroyed her liberties. [Cheers.] You ask me to go home and see my friends in the Maryland Legislatures—men who were put in prison, whose property was destroyed, and whose families were left beggars upon the world, and by orders of this man; and yet, remembering their imprisonment and sufferings, I am asked to walk up to the polls and vote for him. [Cheers.] I cannot do it. I never will do it. [Loud cheers, hisses, and much excitement, a number of the delegates rising to their feet making gestures denoting much feeling.]

Mr. CARRIGAN, of Pennsylvania—Mr. President, I rise to a point of order. The gentleman from Maryland, in presence of this Convention, has declared that he will not vote for the gentleman who may be nominated by this convention. Having made such a statement I submit, Mr. President, that he is not a fit member of this convention. [Cheers.] mingled with cries, "Yes, yes," "No, no." I repeat, that the man who publicly declares within the walls of the convention of the democratic party of the United States, that he will not vote for its nominee is not fit to be a member of the convention. [Loud cheers and much confusion.]

The PRESIDENT—The gentleman from Pennsylvania rises to a point of order—whether a member of the convention, having declared that he will not vote for the nominee of the convention, should be allowed to retain his seat in the convention? Cries of "No, no," "Yes, yes."

Mr. HARRIS—I am free to say that I will not do it.

The PRESIDENT—The decision of the Chair upon the point of order raised by the gentleman from Pennsylvania is, that those who will not submit to the decision of the convention have no right to take part in its proceedings. [Great cheering.]

Mr. HARRIS then left the platform and resumed his seat in the body of the hall. There immediately followed a scene of considerable excitement. The members of the convention nearly all sprang to their feet, some of them looking menacingly toward the member from Maryland, around whom there was some slight commotion. The excitement, however, abated

almost as quickly as it was aroused, upon the President calling the convention to order.

Mr. CARBERRY.—The personal relations existing between the gentleman from Maryland and myself have, ever since I have known him, been of the most friendly character; but in view, Sir, of the morality of this convention—its political morality, of which you spoke—I felt myself compelled at the moment to make the declaration he did, to rise to the point of order. Now, Sir, I respect the gentleman, and, as I said before, our relations have always been friendly; and I now move that the gentleman have the privilege of proceeding with his remarks in order. [Loud applause.]

The President put the motion, which was carried by a nearly unanimous vote and amid loud cheering.

Mr. UNDERWOOD, of Kentucky.—Mr. President, I regret exceedingly that the condition of my voice is such that I am hardly able to be heard by this vast assemblage; but I rise with a view to attempt to pour a little oil upon the troubled waters. I trust, Sir, that we shall have harmony—harmony in our councils, harmony in our actions, harmony in everything we do; and I trust the results of our assemblage here will be carried out by the united voice of the people when we return home. [Cheers.] Allow me to say, Sir, that I came here, having before I left home somewhat considered the objections which could be made to the prominent individuals whose

names are now before the convention and the country, and who are likely to be the candidates of this convention for the Presidency. I suppose other gentlemen came in the same way; and, if we are to take up all the objections which can be urged to every individual who has been named here, I ask this body when are we to adjourn? [Cheers.] It is perfectly impracticable to follow this course. I presume from the fact of the American people sending their representatives here, giving instructions in some instances, and from the conferences which have taken place among the delegations since their assembling in this place, that these objections have been generally considered, and that we have come here to vote rather than to discuss. [Cheers.] Now, Sir, allow me to refer you to two historical facts, which, I think, are a complete answer to all that has been urged by the gentleman from Maryland. In the war of 1812 Gen. Jessup was sent to watch the Hartford Convention, and was instructed by Mr. Madison, if there was any disposition shown to commit an overt act of treason, to arrest all the members of that body. [Laughter and cheers.] Gen. Jackson, again, acting upon his own responsibility, and without instructions from the President of the United States, interfered with the Legislature of Louisiana; and I would to God, if the convention will pardon me—that we had a man here with that iron nerve, that flexible will, that perception of men's character, that determination and patriotism which Old Hickory so emphatically possessed! [Cheers.]

A Voice.—Why did you not vote for him?

Mr. UNDERWOOD.—I had a preference for Henry Clay. [Laughter.]—and if the gentleman, whoever he is, who asked that question, wanted to discuss the matter, I could readily convince him that he would have agreed with me. [Renewed laughter.] Sir, I did not come here to advocate weak-kneed principles; but I came here because the country—which I love with all my heart, with all my soul—is in imminent danger of destruction. [Cheers.] I came here to unite with everybody who is willing to unite with me in order to remove from office that mischievous and tyrannical man who has brought the nation into its perilous position. [Loud cheers.]

A Voice.—And do you wish to set up a greater tyrant?

Mr. UNDERWOOD.—No, I do not; and I hope the gentleman will allow me to state that, after taking all these things into consideration, both at home and since I came here, that part of the Kentucky delegation with which I came here has directed me to cast five and one-half votes—all you have allowed us—for Gen. George B. McCLELLAN. [Enthusiastic cheers.]

Gen. G. W. MORAN, of Ohio.—Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: As a personal friend and former comrade in arms of GEORGE B. McCLELLAN, I cannot remain quiet upon this occasion without replying to the charges of the distinguished gentleman from Maryland. Deeply do I regret, Mr. President, that the first assault upon the Democratic organization in this campaign should come from a man who claims to be a Democrat; and much more do I regret and am astonished at the manner in which the charge was made and the character of the charge itself. I do not impute to the gentleman a desire to wilfully and deliberately misrepresent the facts; but, nevertheless, the statements as made are untrue, as I hope I may be able to convince you. What are the facts? Why did Geo. B. McCLELLAN arrest? I find that the paper from which the gentleman reads is the New-York Tribune, and in replying to him, I will also reply to his worthy co-associate, Mr. GREELLY, of the Tribune. At the time these arrests were ordered, the Maryland Legislature was in session at Annapolis. Gen. JOHNSON was in command of the rebel army at Winchester. There was a conspiracy on foot, and the four or five persons here were the conspirators, between Gen. JOHNSON and this Legislature to accomplish the invasion of Maryland. This Legislature was in communication with Gen. JOHNSON, one of the best and most distinguished Generals in the Confederate army. This Legislature was to have passed an ordinance of secession—the gentleman knows the meaning of that term—they were to have withdrawn to the town of Frederick and there issued the ordinance of secession, and, in direct and immediate concert with this ordinance, JOHNSON was to invade Maryland with an overwhelming force; and certain men in Maryland

—the gentleman can state best who—were to have aroused the people of Maryland in arms against the sovereignty of the United States. Gen. GEORGE B. McCLELLAN, then Commander-in-Chief of our armies, had he acted otherwise than he did, would have been guilty of treason himself. I know well the worthy gentleman from Maryland does not know GEORGE B. McCLELLAN. He calls him a tyrant. Why, Sirs, if there be one man beneath the heavens who is not a tyrant, that man is GEORGE B. McCLELLAN. [Cheers.] If there is one man who is a lover of liberty, one man who has combined in himself the gentleness of a woman and the courage of a lion, that man is Geo. B. McCLELLAN. [Applause.] These facts I knew myself. They were represented to me at the time they occurred. I have them in black and white from Geo. B. McCLELLAN himself. Moreover, but two nights ago, Gen. BURKE, of the United States Army, was in this city. He took tea with me, and during the evening this Maryland matter was talked about, and he told me the fact that he had at that time command of the American forces at Lee-burgh, for the purpose of watching the efforts of JOE JOHNSON in connection with his associates of Maryland. He told me that he had been informed by Gen. McCLELLAN, at that time, of all the facts, and was instructed to keep watch and ward both over the traitors within Maryland and the traitors beyond the river. [Applause.] Now, Sirs, this is a brief statement of the facts. I did not intend or expect to have opened my lips upon this occasion, but before taking my seat I must speak of another point. The gentleman has found a mare's nest. The gentleman talks of troops being sent by GEORGE B. McCLELLAN to suppress the liberty of the ballot. Why, the very order itself states in distinct words that the object of the troops sent there was to protect the Union citizens, who, it was feared, would be deprived of their right of a free vote by intimidation at the ballot-box. These are the unmistakable historical facts connected with these transactions and with these people. They were men who had been over in Virginia, and, when our country became unfortunately involved in this civil war, they were in direct communication with the Southern Generals. In accordance with the laws of war these people, who were guilty of direct communication with the enemy, and who invited the invasion of Maryland, by the laws of war, instead of being arrested would have been executed as spies, for such they were. They were communicating information to the enemy. They were guilty of high treason in furnishing the enemy with information and against these men and the intended intimidation at the polls this order was given. My friends, I only rose to make this statement, and to disabuse your minds of the, no doubt, unintentional misstatements set forth by the distinguished gentleman who gave utterance to them as they were published by HORACE GREELLY. But I will say this, that I not only know Gen. McCLELLAN now, but have known him from boyhood. I knew him when a boy of sixteen, and a truer Democrat never lived. [Cheers.] His whole heart was inspired with love for the Democratic party, and a veneration amounting almost to worship for those great democratic principles taught by JEFFERSON and MADISON, and as taught by the immortal JACKSON. But I tell you, knowing this man as I do, I say with a certainty that in passing over at this time, in this great emergency of our country, great and distinguished statesmen, men of high ability, deserving the confidence of the people, and singling out that man, gives the best evidence, not only of his purity and patriotism, but only of his qualities as a warrior, but of his wise sagacity as a patriot statesman. [Loud cheering.]

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the platform is opposition to the despotic acts of the Administration, and particularly in reference to the coming elections. Is this not a glorious principle, and is it not fair to presume the bearers of this platform will carry it out. Freedom of speech is another one of the cardinal principles of that platform, a right which has been denied to us for four years. We see every day how much the name of McClellan imbues his opponents with horror, for to-day it is rumored that they are concentrating their forces by making peace among themselves. The presence of the men who are living near the scene of war, and had been sufferers by the wars, was the principal motive for framing the platform as it has been framed. Because those men depicted the horrors of war, the peace plank was put in under the condition of an honorable compromise. The unity of the States is the object attained by the olive branch and not the sword. Thus we shall again be happy under the rule of George B. McClellan and George Pendleton, as the Revolution had its George, and as necessity now is more pressing, we have two Georges.

At the close of these remarks G. N. Hermann, Esq., addressed the meeting substantially as follows:

SPEECH OF G. W. HERMANN.

It is a wise rule in the Constitution, that every four years there shall be a change of administration. Scarcely has there been a reelection except in the case of Washington, Jefferson, Adams and Jackson. When this war broke out a Senator wrote to the Governor of Michigan, the Union would not be worth a curse without a little bloodletting? How the bloodletting is carried on you all know. But the people are tired of bloodletting. They have said that we must have peace by a Convention of the States. The platform was made by men like Amos Kendall and Thomas H. Seymour, Horatio Seymour and James Guthrie, and if these men can agree to it, we can surely ratify it.

The names of your candidates, George B. McClellan and George H. Pendleton are familiar to everybody who has followed the destinies of the country. We have a fearful enemy to contend with, for Abraham has got behind him a powerful army of contractors, plenty of greenbacks, all his assessors and other officeholders, all of whom are combined against us. We must organize in every ward, every town and every house, for if we do not succeed now we are ruined as a country.

After an address by Mr. Rhein in German and a few remarks by Govs. Seymour of New York and Wickliffe of Kentucky, an adjournment was had.

parties, to play off one clique against another, a man who understood the people and had sympathy with it, who had a soul that could kindle up the souls of others, draw out the spirit of the people, concentrate and direct it against the rebellion—that rebellion would have been put down in the year 1861. (Applause.) There is no use of deceiving ourselves about it. We have had scarcely a single military success. Some things we call successes, and would with another administration have been brilliant successes. (Voice, how are you Bull run.) Bull run. Yes, I don't call that a success. (A voice—"Gettysburg.") That was a drawn battle. (A voice—"Vicksburg.") That would have been a success if the administration had known how to make use of it. (Cries of "Good.") No more questions, gentlemen; I have told you why I did not believe in Mr. Lincoln. He is not a man who can arouse the people of this country. ("That's true.") He is not a man who inspires you with confidence. I go and visit Mr. Lincoln with my heart full of enthusiasm, burning over with love for my country, but I come away as though there had been an iceberg thrown into my heart. There is no place that I know of upon this continent so well fitted to damp a man's ardor and his patriotic enthusiasm as the White House or the Capitol. (Applause.) A voice—"Are you not going to say something about Fremont?" I am going to say something about him. I am too old a man to be dictated to. If you want to get at my views you had better keep quiet and listen. (A voice—"Give them hell.") I do not happen to be a doctor of that sort. I want to refer to the Baltimore Convention and its platform. (Cheers.) A Baltimore Convention and its platform. I have only a few

voice. — Without the Custom rule platform. There are words to say about the Baltimore platform. I do not like many things in it that I like many things I have there and there are many things I would like to have there which are not there. I take that platform up and contrast it with the character of the men that run upon it. That Baltimore Convention, in one of its resolutions, pronounced the most severe condemnation of those men who say "Liberty is decriable, and that no man who does not hold these principles is worthy of public confidence. Some people suppose that that resolution was directed against Mr. Seward. Mr. Seward is but the President's clerk. If he does not like him, why does he keep him in office? If he does not approve Mr. Seward's influence and Mr. Seward's actions, why does he hold him there? Why does he not say, retire to that beautiful village of Auburn, a beautiful city now. It is idle to throw blame on his Cabinet. We want confidence in the President himself. The grand principle that they appeal to in that platform—what is its nature? Why, it is drawn up not to bind the President, for how can you suppose that a man who cannot be bound by a constitution which he has sworn to preserve and to protect, will be

has solemnly bound by the resolutions of a political caucus? (Applause.) But Mr. Lincoln is to run as the anti-slavery candidate. Abraham Lincoln, an anti-slavery man. We good men have men lost their judgment. Every man knows that no man in this country has been more opposed to the emancipation of slaves than Abraham Lincoln. (Applause.) When General Fremont issued his proclamation did he sustain him? No, sir; he rescinded the order, and he relieved Fremont of his command. And so, too, I have relieved Fremont of his command. I am opposed to slavery, and I have not a fibre in my heart that does not respond to the love of liberty, and what I demand for myself I demand for every other man, whether white, black, red, yellow or copper color. (Applause.) There is only one way, in my judgment, to get rid of slavery, and that is by a constitutional amendment abolishing it. (Applause.) I hold this to be more important than slavery. When I thought that the agitation of slavery endangered the Union, I opposed that agitation. When ~~slavery~~ rebelled and threatened the existence of the Union, then I opposed slavery. Always in my own mind, in my heart, the Union question was first. If you lose the Union—if you lose your liberty—the liberty of the white man. (Applause.) I maintain and maintain liberty for my thought, they have been advocated in my *Review*—always ~~asserted~~ asserted upon every occasion. I have not changed my opinion upon that question from my boyhood to this day. I have always loved the Union. The man that loves the Union and places that before every other question, is the one for whom I go, and the one whom I am ready to support. (Applause.) I was asked a few moments ago what I have to say about General Fremont. I have given you reasons why I cannot support the requisition of the Baltimore Convention. I like the Cleveland Convention. I do not say that I approve of every resolution, or every principle asserted in the resolutions. There are some there that I could not accept without the very serious modifications; but I like the spirit and the tone of those resolutions. They seem to me to be serious and honest resolutions—the honest expressions of convictions and sentiments of the Convention.

pression. "There is no make believe in them—no sham—no cant. There is no man in that Cleveland Convention who is earnest, honest-minded man, and they have told you what they believed and what they wanted; and I, for one, they believed (all with Cleveland) than succeed with Estlinism. (Cries of "Good," and general applause.) As I said before, I am ready to support any man who will defend Abraham Lincoln. (Cries of "Bravo," and increased cheering.) I do not believe that there is or can be a party in this country strong enough to defeat him that does not combine the greater portion of the democratic party. "That is the doctrine" (Applause.) I am a man of American antecedents, and perhaps I have an attachment to that party stronger than I have to any other. You will make all allowances for that. But it is men like you Abraham Lincoln, that I must have a party friend

[illegible]

than any other man I know. (Applause.) There are objections to General Fremont which constitute obstacles in the way of his success. First, he is a man of decided convictions, who is the courage to stand by his convictions. He is a man of strong individuality, and clear and definite purposes from which neither you nor I can induce him to swerve unless we convince his reason. But he differs from Mr. Lincoln in that he has a reason to be convinced. (Laughter and applause.) He is also a man of remarkable vitality; for every effort that power could make had been used to crush and disgrace him; but to-day he stands with his own eye, in the repose of his soul, firm and unshaken, confronting Abraham Lincoln before the American people. (Continued applause.) The jester has not embarrassed or forced from his path the Placidus, who will stand, and write his name with Washington, Adams, Jefferson and Jackson. I have known Webster, Calhoun, and the greatest men of the country; but none so fitted to be President of these States, in times like these, as John C. Fremont. (Applause.) He is a man of mud; he has a magnetic soul, which can kindle the souls of others, and make the timid brave, the weak strong, and the selfish disinterested and heroic. (Hear, hear.) He has in him the elements of success, and a stronger hold on the popular heart of the people than any other man, than can be named. Abraham Lincoln dreaded him, as Haman did Mordecai when sitting in the king's gate, or as Nebuchadnezzar looked upon the keen sighted and loyal Hananio. I am at the preservation of the Union, and if it can be better preserved with George B. McClellan—(tumultuous cheers, the assembly rising and waving their hats enthusiastically)—or any other man, in God's name make him President. But I believe Fremont is the man on whom all true patriots should unite to place him in the presidential chair, in the hour of trial. But if Abraham Lincoln is elected, farewell, my country, farewell liberty! (A voice—keep up your courage.) I will keep up my courage as long as courage is not madness. I know also that the spirit of the people is loyal. I know also that the rays of the sun are warm. But if you wait to kindle a fire by the rays of the sun you must have a glass that brings them to a focus—concentrate them on the wood you would ignite, and you must give the people a man who will call forth and concentrate their spirit, and not eternally damp the fire as is now done by Mr. Lincoln. If he is again elected I shall feel that shoddy contractors and officeholders have got the American people in their power—(groans)—and the next thing we should see would be a proclamation announcing, "I, Abraham Lincoln, by the grace of shoddy, Emperor of America." (Shouts of laughter and groans.)

(Colonel Zagonyi) read a despatch just received from Missouri, giving a very encouraging account of the great meeting in favor of the Cleveland platform, held there on the 26th inst.

MR. CLAIBORNE'S REMARKS.

Hon. Mr. CLAIBORNE then spoke. He was from a part of Missouri, which all know was a quiet and peaceable place. He was a democrat—and had been a member of the party from youth to now. Had stood by that party in the past, and would stand by its principles in the time to come. His party was the party of the constitution and Union. They had sworn by the constitution of the United States to uphold the principles of freedom, and no man could claim to be a democrat who did not stand by the constitution and the Union together. In the name of the national democracy, the name of traitor, with which they had been branded, be buried back in the teeth of the minions of the despotism that now ruled, and to them he would say, in the words of the poet—

I bid them defiance, turn and die,
And in their throat give them the lie.

The democracy had ever been faithful to the republic in the Revolution. In 1812, and the Mexican war democrats had never faltered. Had not every State contributed their democratic sons to the harvest of death? It was charged that democrats held back from the war. In Missouri Lincoln got sixteen thousand votes. Missouri gave sixty thousand to the war. There must be some democratic blood there ready to suffer and die for the ship of State. When you accept the nomination of the Cleveland Convention you do well. It says you shall have free speech; but in my State we have been prevented from giving utterance to our thoughts. That despotism which stifled men's tongues and stifled the press is passing away, and in a few months more the man who oppressed us shall have passed away. He had come all the way to learn the feeling here. The feeling in the Northwest was to save the republic and to hurl from power the tyrant who presides over the United States. (Cheers.) We do not like Mr. Lincoln in the Southwest, and the reason is, Lincoln has trampled on the constitution given us by Washington. He swore to support it, and he has violated it; and the man who denies it has little knowledge of the English language and less truth. The President has trampled on the constitution. (Hisses.) It is not necessary to prove this. There have been arbitrary arrests and men confined without a charge. He has stifled freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Abe Lincoln is not the man for President now. Abe Lincoln has not got the intelligence, and lastly, he has not the dignity of character necessary. It was said Nero fiddled while Rome burned. It is too true to make a joke of it, while our nation is struggling in death that the President in Washington deals in jokes and smutty anecdotes. He is not, therefore, fit for office again. A friend said I should not complain of Lincoln being a jester, as he saved the cabinet at Washington from the exposure of maintaining a State fool. (Laughter.) If he had thought a successful canvass could be maintained by nomination of a democratic candidate he would be for him; but if the Chicago Convention should come to the conclusion that it will be necessary to unite on the Cleveland ticket, he and his people would go one and all, for Fremont and Cochrane. (Great cheering.) Fremont was the only man at present known who possessed all the elements necessary to defeat Lincoln. And he would ask, was there a democrat in all the land who would hesitate a moment as between the two—Fremont and Lincoln? (Cheers for Fremont.) None can love war for the sake of war. Enough of blood has been shed. (Groans.) If, then, we can restore the Union and make friends of the South,

will any one deny that that should be done. This cannot be done under Lincoln. It was his election that brought on the war, and every act of his has widened the gap between the North and South. Give the South a platform—a bridge upon which they can once more reunite, and they will accept it. That platform is the Cleveland platform, and the great plank of that platform which will be gladly accepted is the Monroe doctrine. Say to the South—"run down your few stars and bars, and once more run up the bright galaxy of stars, and let us drive from the continent all kings and emperors, and potentates." (Cheers.) That will be the talisman to touch the whole Southern heart (cheers) when once they learn that you have driven A. Lincoln from the Presidency of the States. He thanked them for the patient hearing they had accorded him. He was fatigued and wearied with a long journey, but he would be happy to have an opportunity of once again addressing them fully and at length on the great and vital question which was at stake, and which is to be decided at the ballot-box by the American people. (Cheers.)

SPEECH OF HON. JOHN COCHRANE.

The President then introduced General JOHN COCHRANE as the next Vice President of the United States. He was loudly cheered, and proceeded to say that he had listened to the speakers of the evening with much pleasure, and observed the conduct of the audience with deep interest, proving as it did that the liberty of speech upon the platform had been reflected by the liberty of speech from the audience—(laughter)—and, so far from repressing it, he hailed it as one of the happiest omens of their success—not the success of the gentlemen whose names appeared upon that ticket, for in the hour of the nation's peril men were nothing and principles were everything. (Applause.) He looked upon that occasion as prophetic of the triumph of free speech, free men and free press. There may be gentlemen here to-night, said he, to ratify their individual favorites. I hear from yonder direction the name of Geo. H. Middleton—(enthusiastic cheering and a voice—"I will spend a hundred dollars on him myself!")—and yonder, as the echo of that name, I hear the name of John C. Fremont. (Great applause.) This indicates but the one great principle of free men and free speech. So, gentlemen, under whatever rallying cry you advance here to-night, you come as individual soldiers into one great army of American freemen, whose rights have been trampled upon, whose privileges have been assailed, even while as freemen they stand, as they abound, in serried ranks to oppose this rebellion. We stand upon that platform, for it is the platform upon which our forefathers stood, which descended to us through the long and illustrious descent of English liberty, which was accepted and adopted at their hands by our ancestors, and was fought for through the dreary and desolate hours of the revolution. It was inscribed upon our dying, triumphant banners then at Yorktown and Saratoga; it was inscribed upon the glorious pages of our constitution, and is now contended and struggled for in this our desolate hour—"Freedom of the press, freedom of the person, the privilege of habeas corpus, and the right of asylum." (Cheers.) O, but I am told that there has been no violation of these principles, that there they stand intact and powerful as ever, in their native dignity, especially the principle that every man shall be secure of his life, his liberty and his property. Secure, indeed! Have not the prior speakers upon this stand explained to you the issues of arbitrary arrests that have occurred in your midst. Gentlemen, pray you understand me not as among those who would excuse nothing by the exigencies of war to the present incumbent of the Presidency of the nation; but I will excuse nothing to that party who, overlooking and striking far beyond military necessity, declares and affirms that the arrest of a man, his incarceration without a hearing or process of law is broadly and flatly within the constitution of the land. He averred that such flagrant acts had been attempted and avowed by those who ranked themselves with the supporters of Abraham Lincoln. It was a sad page upon our country's laws, but it must be explored, and the contents of that page should be delivered to them. He simply intended to give them the fact in accordance with a request made that proof should be submitted. The constitution was attempted to be violated, their rights trampled under no plea of military necessity, but upon the broad declaration that, under the constitution of the land, they, as freemen, had no rights, but were subject to arbitrary imprisonment and their property to arbitrary spoliation. The first evidence which he would give proceeded from the page of that statute which was enacted in March, 1863. Says the legislature at section four—"And be it further enacted, that any or all of the President, or under his authority, may at any time during the existence of the present rebellion shall be a defence in all the courts to any action or proceeding, civil or criminal, pending or to be commenced, for any search, seizure, arrest or imprisonment made, done or committed, or acts omitted to be done under and by virtue of such order, or under color of any law of Congress." The President's order is the law of the land. ("Never, never!") Do you ask for further proof after looking in that law inscribed upon the statute book of Congress? If you ask for more proof, it is at hand; but he who would demand proof with such evidence before him, would exclaim at midday that the sun had not yet risen. The President's mouth pronounces the law for the people; and the arrest once made, the officer, from the smallest provost marshal to the President himself, has a perfect and conclusive defence in any court through that law in any action brought for damages by reason of that arrest. I will show you how palpable and clear a violation of the constitution under which we live is the law of Congress. I now refer simply to one resolution, adopted by the late convention at Baltimore, concerning the 7th of the present month. Gentlemen will be just for a moment, for this is of more interest than retelling any necessity whatever, for it is a necessity which rests at the basis of our race, and upon which necessity you and I will be called upon hereafter to act. Says their fifth resolution, adopted at Baltimore—"Resolved, that we approve and applaud the unwavering fidelity to the constitution and the principles of American liberty with which Abraham Lincoln has discharged, under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty

the great duties and responsibilities of the Presidential office; that we approve and endorse, as within the constitution, the measures and acts which he has adopted to do end the nation against its open and secret foes." It was declared by three who renominated Lincoln that his acts were within the constitution. And now let me direct your attention for a single moment to the language of that constitution, and the argument will be complete—no commentary of mine will be required, for your own judgments will be enabled to decide whether the proof is at hand that Abraham Lincoln and his friends have perpetrated, and still design further perpetration of injury to the constitution of the land and the liberties of American citizens. Says the constitution at amendment article V: "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." Says our State constitution of New York, article 1, section 1, "No member of this State shall be disfranchised or deprived of any rights or privileges secured to any citizen thereof, unless by the law of the land or the judgment of his peers." And yet the law under which those arrests had been made, by which the persons of individuals had been seized and imprisoned without trial, in respect to whose cases unpardonable delay had been interposed—that law allowed the Executive, through all his subordinate agents, to arrest and imprison all that his physical power enabled him to, and continue that imprisonment without examination, without interference of law and without judicial decision. I say to you gentlemen, continued General Cochrane, this is the principle for which your ancestors struggled; that from the time when it was implanted upon the pages of magna charta down to the settlement in the Bill of Rights of Great Britain's liberties, in 1689 from the time of the declaration of Massachusetts' liberties, in 1641; through the same declaration made manifest in the Bill of Rights of Virginia, in 1776 through the pages of our own federal constitution down to those of our State constitution, ever and always has this principle been asserted, maintained and fixed by the integrity of law makers, and by the persistent will and patriotism of their constituents. (Cheers.) Will you not protect them? Do you not perceive that the proof is present, that it is irrefutable, and that at this point the same war is now to be waged, renewed and accomplished, which was waged for so many years on English and American soil, and for which our fathers struggled, and for which legacy we, their children, will struggle after them. (Applause.) Do not misunderstand me, that we will permit even these considerations to interfere with that determination of purpose with which we are waging this war for the suppression of the rebellion. That rebellion, which threatens our liberties at the front, shall be, if we be freemen, released, while on the other hand, those arbitrary excesses of power which threaten those same liberties here at the rear, shall be repressed at the same moment of time. If we shall have accomplished the safety of this government by destroying that hydra-headed monster—the rebellion at the South—what shall we have gained if we in the meantime shall have lost our liberties at the North by the destruction of personal liberty? (Loud cheers.) I perceive that the argument is perfect—that nothing need be added in order to give strength to its pungency. I need not therefore retire with the conviction that they who hear me are satisfied that on this point at least they who occupy the platform of principles that has been announced to you to-night occupy it with consistency, and with, if they can, maintain it with power. (Applause.) Fellow citizens, I will not detain you here with the useless exhortation to trite and hackneyed principles; you all understand the cause which is presented to you. There are but two parties in this country—the one is for constitutional liberty, and the other is against it. There can be no question on which side of the line the rebels stand; they are for the destruction of the government, which is synonymous with the expression "constitutional liberty." Are there no others who threaten, may, and have already enacted laws which accomplish the same direct result? Therefore, conclude us to be opposing the most vital interests of this land, but conclude that in our sincerity that we who oppose rebels will not easily oppose usurpation. (Applause.) He had heard it said that there were only snarls here to-night from various places in this city which he would not name, and that they came here for the purpose of disturbing this meeting. He knew this, that as the processions were converging to this point to-night, numbering thousands, not only one, but three, were sought to be disturbed by the ringing of the fire bells. Let it be borne in reverberating echoes along the streets of New York and penetrate every sequestered vale of the land; let it flash along under wire—that the government will permit the news to go—that here to-night freemen have assembled by thousands to assert their right of free speech and the great principles of Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights, and the constitution of the United States. The charter of American liberty—let no tyrant neglect it, let no usurper disregard it, for as sure as, upon the plea of constitutional right, the Declaration of Independence is violated, so sure that Declaration will be asserted in its integrity by the myriads of the freemen of the North.

The President then declared the meeting adjourned, the band playing "The Star Spangled Banner" as the audience left the hall.

The Meeting Outside.

There were two stands erected outside the building, east and west—one termed the German, and the other the English stand. The assemblage here was not large, but a few hundred persons being present at any time, and those not tarrying very long. The speakers wanted the usual locustive to oratory—an audience, and they incessantly vacated the stands, leaving the square to peace and quiet. This only was afterwards broken by the cheers that rung out, from time to time, from the immense gathering in side at some happy allusion of a speaker to General Fremont, or when some one cried out—"Three cheers more for General McClellan."

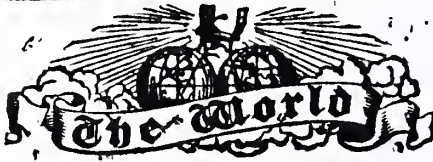
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FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1864.

GENERAL McCLELLAN'S ACCEPTANCE.

The country will hail with profound satisfaction and enthusiastic applause General McCLELLAN's letter, accepting his nomination by the Democratic party for President of the United States, published in this morning's WORLD. The committee, headed by Governor SEYMOUR, which was deputed by the Chicago Convention to inform the general of its action, met at the St. Nicholas Hotel yesterday noon, proceeded to the general's residence, and there discharged their duty. The general's reply to the committee was returned to their chairman last evening.

His letter is brief; but every sentence is compact with an earnest, high-toned, and devout patriotism, characteristic of the man. Its explicit, square, unflinching enunciation of the principles which should guide the government in restoring Union, peace, and liberty to the nation, will command the admiration, as well as the assent, of every honest and loyal man.

There is no place for any northern man to stand, except on McCLELLAN's platform, or on the platforms of the abolition disunionists of the North, or the rebellious secessionists of the South. Not a syllable of its language is dubious, ambiguous, or double-faceted. It is open, clear, ringing, and stands four square to all the winds of treason, blow they from the White House, or from Richmond.

"The Union at all hazards!" These five words should strike the liars dumb who have defamed him and his party with the charge of consenting to a disunion peace—the Union for which his gallant comrades have perilled their lives, and whose blood shall not have been spilled in vain. No more effusion of blood if the rebels will, for "Union is the one condition of Peace. We ask no other."

"Love and reverence for the Union, the Constitution, the Laws, and the Flag," uttered in every breath, while the traitors who shrieked "Tear down the flaunting lie" hoarsen their throats with calumny against him whose patriotism is of such sort as they never conceived.

The Constitution and laws his "rule of duty;" to maintain the supremacy of law over President, army, and people; and to reassert the unity and power of the nation among the nations of the earth, his avowed purpose; a devout reliance upon the Almighty for His sovereign aid "to restore Union and Peace to a suffering people, to establish and guard their liberties and rights," the spirit which he brings to the sublime work.

The people have long waited for the nation's leader,—its deliverer. They hear his voice to-day. *They will follow him to victory!*

ny Mercury
Sept 25 1864

"Brick" Remover's Idea of a Lincoln Re-election Meeting - A Procession of Misery.

[From the La Crosse Democrat.]
It is some time since Lincoln, the illustrious widow-maker of the nineteenth century, was nominated for re-election; and no demonstration having been made whereby the people should know he was a candidate for re-election, the millions of office-holders and office-seekers, who look to him for pay in case of success, and all the Abolitionists and others who believe in war, but dare not court the front, are invited to attend a grand ratification meeting, in the City of La Crosse, on the 24 of November, A. D., 1864 - A. L. 4!

The meeting will be held in the grave-yard, that being the only appropriate place for such a gathering. The following eminent and notorious will preside from the top of the grave-stones:

A. Lincoln, the tyrant and widow-maker.
Ben Butler, the brute and fanatical idiot of New Orleans.
The seat of Old John Brown, the saint and martyr.
Becher, the sporting-general in the service of Christ.
Jim Lane, the murderer.
Govt Smith, the fanatic.
Brinks, the bobbin-boy and blunderous-blunderer.
Ephraim of Benedict Arnold.
The officers of the meeting will be escorted to the cemetery by a procession bearing wide-awake for-hack, black capes and greenbacks, in the following order:
Lincoln, the widow-maker and hell's outsider.
Paid millions in uniform, who dare not go to the field of battle, but at home oppress the poor.
One million and six hundred thousand men, who have been lost to their country by the inability of the highest class and tyrant - one million six hundred thousand soldiers of the Republican platform.
White children, who have been orphaned for a few negroes.
Photograph-views of houses which have been plundered, robbed, and burned by our troops in the South.
The olive-branch of peace, which the President said should go with the sword.
A gold dollar with a greenback.
The writ of Habeas Corpus, reversed.
Thirty-seven thousand and nine hundred half-starved tomatos from Northern plantations.
Eleven hundred thousand mothers, whose many sons are rotting to enrich the soil of the South.
Rear's bell.
Half a million crippled men who must beg, steal, or starve.
Gen. Curtis, sandwiched between mulien and cotton, surrounded with the wrath of the ghosts of men murdered to add to his wealth.
Steel-plate engraving of the printing-offices the tyrant has ordered or suffered to be melted.
Persons who have been made hoppler by this Abolition crusade for cotton and negroes.
The countless number of prostitutes made in order from once virtuous women, who have been forced into half priced filthiness to support starvation.
Deadheads on the through-routes to Richmond.
Springfield postforger in Scotch cap and plaid shawl.
Ballot-boxes guarded by bayonets.
Freedom of speech and opinion.
Graveyard - the poor man's cure.
Procession of Wide Awakes sweeping Hell into the Gulf of Mexico.
Nobody Hurt.
Three months' play-spell.
One Northern man whipping five Southern ones.
Electing one dollar a yard.
The next draft.
Soldiers' graves in the South.
The National Debt.
Exhausting view of the end of the war in the dim distance.
Goddess of Liberty with fat nigger-baby in her arms.
Coffins from the Army filled with stolen goods.
Eternal vigilance the price of liberty.
Famifog sycophants in office.
Men of indecendence in iron.
Secretary Stanton, the great American liar.
Backbone of the Rebellion in two parts.
Protest-martials catadropping under bedroom windows.
The procession will march to the cemetery on the double-slow, keeping time to the sob of windows and orphans who will dole forth from trembling lips -
We are coming, Father Abraham, five hundred thousand more -
To view the spot where husbands lie, buried in their gore!
We are coming, gracious widow-maker, in and and sore array
To ask how many many forms you yet intend to slay!
We are coming, tyrant Abraham to rob orphans the grave.
Of white men who have fallen the nigger sweet to save.
We are coming, President Lincoln, full half a million wives!
To learn why you have sacrificed so many gallant lives!
To know why in dollars you have wasted white men's patriot blood!
Not to save the Union but for the Abolition god -
Your kinked-headed equal - the shambling negro-bend, who, to make still more degraded, you have ruined all the land!
We are coming, fatboat tyrant, in mourning-goods and tears!
To hear your stories and your jokes, we trust no more years!
We are coming, widow-maker, from prairie-home and glen.
A half a million widows of slowly-murdered men.
We are coming, sedly coming, as the world can plainly see.
Not to save the Union, but the contraband to free.

Lincoln Reviewed by Prentice - Convising Reasons Why Old Abe Should not be Re-Elected.

[From the Louisville Journal, Sept. 22.]
Abraham Lincoln ought not to be re-elected President of this country for many reasons. We will enumerate some of them:

1. He has violated his official oath to "preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution".
2. He has violated the Constitution in numerous instances, and in all its guarantees for the liberty of the citizen.
3. He has attempted to subvert civil by military power.
4. He has caused freedom to be secretly seized and imprisoned; judged them in secret; denied them the privilege of Habeas Corpus; tried them for crimes unknown to the law before mock tribunals of his own creation; and inflicted upon them grievous and unexampled punishments.
5. He has prohibited and prevented free suffrage by armed force; dated and incarcerated men for conspiracy in disregard of his prohibition.
6. He has seized private property without remedy and without compensation.
7. He has restricted and tried to suppress the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press.
8. He has infringed the right of the people to keep and bear arms.
9. He has given us a fluctuating, depreciated currency, instead of gold and silver coin, thereby deranging all commercial affairs, adding greatly to the burthen of taxation without any benefit to the treasury, and interfering between debtor and creditor by a legal tender discharge for his half or a third in value of the legal demand, at the same time destroying the national credit both as to responsibility and good faith.
10. He has violated his oft-repeated personal and private pledges, their violation in reference to Kentucky, in particular, being as flagrant as to be disgraceful to him as an officer, and dishonorable to him as a man.
11. He has usurped power to proclaim martial law over Kentucky without necessity, and upon pretence so notoriously false as to induce suspicion of the most sinister motives, vexing her also with trade-regulations, which, beside the favoring of adjoining States to her prejudice, have no practical effect but that of harassing her citizens and awarding Abolition partisans the opportunity of being bribed.
12. He has tarnished the national honor by violating the cherished right of asylum in his illegal kidnapping and extradition of Arguelles.
13. He has degraded the nation by his apology to the French Emperor for a unanimous resolution of the House of Representatives expressing truly the sentiments of the nation in favor of the Monroe Doctrine.
14. He has fearfully imperturbed the Union cause by his illegal Abolition proclamations, clinching the whole by his recent manifesto, in which he has the insolence to proclaim that the nation shall not have peace but upon Abolition terms of his dictating.
15. He has, by abandoning the policy of the war as proclaimed at its commencement by Congress and ratified by the nation, and converting it into an Abolition crusade, usurped power that does not belong to either the Executive or to Congress, or to both together, unmasked his financial schemes, divided the North, united the South, and committed a betrayal of public trust of unsurpassed atrocity and magnitude; showing that no reliance can be placed on the most solemn oaths or pledges of himself or party.
16. He has attempted the manufacture of State and electoral votes out of territories having not a third enough population for admission into the Union, and out of Rebel States, in which one-tenth of the voters are empowered to rule the other nine-tenths.
17. He has, by the attempted organization of an enormous standing army of negroes, with the accompanying enrolment of a party leader in the Senate, that as soon as the services of our white soldiers can be dispensed with they are to be discharged, leaving none but negro soldiers, justified the popular suspicion of an intention permanently to destroy the Constitution and establish a despotism on its ruins.
18. He has in countless ways proved his incompetency for the station he has so disastrously attempted to fill, and which he is now so presumptuously attempting to retain by popular suffrage.

Administration Outrage - How the Party in Power Hope to Suppress Free Speech.

[From the St. Louis Republican, September 22.]
From a gentleman who was in Troy, Lincoln County, on Monday, we learn the particulars of a great outrage committed by soldiers in that place on that day. It was the day for the meeting of the Great Court, and in accordance with a time-honored custom, the Democrats advertised some time ago that there would be a McClellan meeting in the court-house on the occasion, which would be addressed by Robert Campbell, of Pike, and others. A week or two later, the Radicals advertised the same to be held in the same place, and on the same occasion; and accordingly, the Conservatives, in order to avoid the possibility of a difficulty, changed the place of their meeting from the court-house to the Methodist Church. Here they met together on Monday, to hear Campbell, while the Radicals met in the court-house to hear an address from Hon. John B. Henderson. Before the Democratic meeting was organized, however, several soldiers entered the church, and one of the number accosted the first man he met - an old gray-headed citizen - and desired to know whether "this was a Conservative meeting". The old gentleman replied that it was, and was immediately struck over the head. Several of his friends interfered, and the soldiers then began to discharge their fire-arms promiscuously at the crowd. Colonel Aleck Reed, an estimable young man, was shot dead. His brother, Captain James Reed, was seriously wounded. Milton Sanford, was also wounded - losing an arm. At the beginning of the Rebellion in North Missouri, these gentlemen were among the first to take a firm and decided stand for the Union, and all belonged to the early militia-organizations. As soon as the soldiers had discharged their fire-arms they got away and made their escape out of town.

These soldiers, if they can be called soldiers, are said to have been sent from Warrenton, though several of them were recognized as having been enrolled at and near Troy, and born there. Immediately after these incidents had transpired, Colonel Parker, in command of the Enrolled Missouri Militia, ordered out a portion of his men and armed them, but those who had committed the outrage had disappeared; and up to Tuesday, at 2 o'clock, P. M., everything was quiet, though the McClellan men were greatly excited, and were determined to assert their rights at all hazards at the next meeting.

General Schofield's order recognizes the right to assemble for political purposes, unawed and undisturbed by a military or any other mob, much less to be shot down in cold blood. That order is still in force, and we have an abiding confidence that General Rosecrans will take instant measures for the arrest of every man concerned in the promediated murder and outrage committed at Troy.

LINCOLN RATIFICATION MEETING.

Gathering of Office-Holders, Office-Seekers, Miscegenationists, and Shoddyites, at Cooper Institute—The Democrats Attendable, and Cheer for McClellan—The Twenty-Third Street Gang in Council—A Procession of Misery—The War-Eagles and their Lincoln Campaign Banners—Evidence of Terrestrial Practice at Twenty-Third Street—"Cam-Plang-Gum" Speeches.

Last evening the Lincolnites, Twenty-third street miscegenationists, and shoddyites of this city generally, held a grand ratification meeting at the Cooper Institute, to exhibit their preference for the Republican ticket, both of the national and state governments. That it was not held in the nearest grave-yard, a world have been most appropriate, considering the insatiable demand for war and slaughter, was probably an oversight on the part of the gentlemen having the affair in charge. However, the meeting was a large one, although not comparing by any means with any of the McClellan ratification meetings that have been held in this city. It was also evident that a very great many of the people present were Democrats, who came merely from curiosity to see what sort of an affair the miscegenationists, war-eagles, and the like, could get up. At all the stands in the square, and among the groups in the vicinity, there was often vociferous cheering for McClellan, and the speakers were much chagrined to find, nearly every time McClellan's name was mentioned, that the cheers were almost, and sometimes more than equal to the hisses.

This is an historic fact in connection with the meeting, stated without any desire or intention to misrepresent. Our reporters heard more than one surprised Republican remark that they "never saw so many Democrats at a Republican meeting before." The shoddyites have been some time preparing for this demonstration. The custom-house and other administration officials were out almost en masse, and formed no inconsiderable part of the audience, so that the result must have been, after all, rather a disappointment to the politicians who "ruin the machine," because as a popular demonstration, it was more of a failure than a success. At the meeting inside the hall, William Curtis Noyes presided, and the officers were almost without exception, either recent or present office-holders, or candidates struggling for a taste at the shoddy pap-spoon. It would fill a column to mention the names of all, but the following list is a specimen of the whole:

James Kelly, postmaster; Sheridan Shack, collector of internal revenue; Thomas Robinson and John Piren, custom-house attachés; John A. Pothmann, of street commissioner's office; placed there by ex-Mayor Opdyke; A. J. Dittschneffer, Republican Presidential elector; Henry Richard, ex-Kassman, Geo. Manhot, C. F. E. Laeder, custom-house attaché; Peter Cook, a perpetual candidate for the Assembly; on the Republican ticket of the Tenth and Twelfth districts; Andreas Willmann, occasional Republican candidate for Senate from the Fifth district, lately defeated for state prison inspector, and now in the custom-house; Samuel J. Glossy, counsel to the collector; Thomas Little, Republican supervisor, whose term will soon expire; Simon Disper, collector of the port; Edmund Reckow, custom-house attaché; Geo. F. Steinbrunner, a seer of internal revenue; John D. Outwell, assistant collector; Wm. Allen Butler, of Flora McCluskey and custom-house pickpocket; E. Delaheld Smith, United States district attorney; Joe R. Whitten, secretary candidate for mayor; Rufus S. Andrews, late surveyor of the port, and now removed from office, and a large number of others, patrons of miscegenation, dogs, and shoddy contractors.

"Orning all over with the fat, affectionate smile, That makes the widow lean."

The meeting inside was addressed by Hon. Henry D. Smith, of Connecticut, military mayor of New Orleans under Butler, and others. From the stands outside, a miscellaneous set of speeches were made. Owing to the scarcity of speakers, they kept continually repeating the same tired-old, bare oratory from one stand to another, commencing at one end of the line and going the whole round. By this means their voices, unlike the quality of mercy, became strained, hoarse, and badly cracked, until at a 10 o'clock, when most of the people left, and small boys took possession of the deserted rostrum. Many of the speakers displayed an agility of posture that was doubtless acquired at the miscegenation headquarters, where many have been seen on numerous occasions for months past the

"Dusky Arabeller,
With a gingham umbrella,
And a ginger-whiskered feller,
Doing 'double-shifts' with the Lincoln shoddy gang."

The speeches were all of one kind. All the stale-revived slander on General McClellan were cooked over for the occasion and repeated again and again, while of Mr. Lincoln, personally, they were very chary of reference. Mr. Park Godwin, of the *Evening Post* (the organ of Mr. Henderson, now held for

trial for alleged official corruption while holding the office of Naval Agent), made one of the speeches, which was heard but by very few. He gave the audience a short history of his ancestors and his genealogy, and told them what some of his relatives have done in the war.

The processions were extremely lame. Considering the great pains that have been taken to get it up, it must be considered a most remarkable failure, only three wards being represented, and the procession being mostly formed of small boys found loose in the streets. Our reporters took the trouble to count, as nearly as possible, the number of persons in it and the "illuminations" of the stands, and give the result, as follows:

Whole number of ward processions..... 3
Whole number of men and boys in them..... 600
Whole number of trucks loaded with small boys.. 6
Whole number of "war eagles" bearing axes..... 12
Whole number of "war eagles" bearing bottles..... 15
Whole number of Chinese lanterns on all the stands outside..... 131
Whole number of shoddy and abolition speakers..... 15
Whole number of calcium lights..... 15

The bar-rooms in the vicinity were most generously patronized, being continually crowded.

As next, to the "war eagles." The war-eagles must not be supposed to be birds of the oron and sweeping wing, whose home is high in heaven. Eagles are generally considered as belonging to the class of animated existences described as "verruvated, oviporous, feathered bipeds, generally formed for flight."

A Roman augur possessed of the utmost skill in divination would have been puzzled to discern from the appearance of the beaks and eyes of these, what quarter of fowl they were of. Their plumage has not yet even sprouted, and about half of them, there was a general callowness and business of appearance, that might indeed, one to think they sh and be named as they persist in considering themselves I with the Society of Shoddy Rooks. "War Rooks," perhaps, although unmindful of the perils that enveloped the flock, these meekies were cold iron. These orthotological young men prefer for the present, to be absent in body from the scenes of war, and thereby avoid the uncomfortable gnashing of their flesh that might ensue. There was no bearing of their sword's high antiquity, for the simple reason that they wore no swords. The mild and miscellaneous mob who have so outraged the memory of Audubon, bore only banners with strange devices, except a few with axes and bottles, typical of rail splitting, and few others tugging tediously at a small osuary, and assisted by a crowd of small boys who, every five or ten minutes, sent up a vociferous chorus of cheers for McClellan. The "bottles," moreover, were of a kind unheard of in the rail-splitting occupation, and the war-eagles might do well to consult their candidate as to the model of his original article.

One of the clubs bore a banner representing a black chicken apparently in the last stages of pip, standing on a small hill, around which was the motto—"No white feathers in my tail." The motto was correct. Not only the tail feathers, but everything else about the sick chicken was dead black. One of the other two remaining clubs carried a banner representing two roosters, standing side by side, one in a high state of exultation, and the other drooping and downcast, after the fashion of the wood cut, with which country papers ornament their advertisements of "Cherokee remedies." This telling allusion cam-

panion picture was afterward placed on the stage in Cooper Institute, and was loudly applauded by the audience. It was not stated that this was a war-symbol of the eagle.

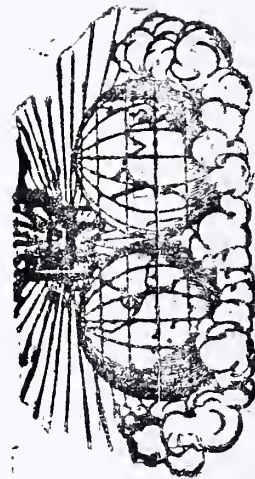
It may be, however, that the martial spirit will develop itself with pin feathers, and that the passion is yet calm, unborn, lying in wait.

"As the music of the moon
Sleeps in the phosgene of the midnight sea."

We will not judge them harshly. Though they had no trenchant blades for battle, they were, doubtless, valiant trencher-men at home.

The fallow lamps burned and the war-eagles came swooping on. The war eagles swooped and the fallow lamps burned on. Every gizzard oobtices around high with animation. Like a flock of wild geese en route for stormy Labrador on a winter's morning, they followed their chosen leader, who boldly clef his way amid the crowd of small boys that might be classified as "scritch-owls, scritch-owls" and "other lookers on;" for his spirit was tremen da-ous and de-ces to behold. Some of the war-eagles had evidently whetted their beaks against bits of battle-axe, and even as they inched along into the Night's Plutonian shore, occasionally renewed the operation with apparent gusto and satisfaction—thus the ebony birds beguiling the weariness of the hour.

At 10½ o'clock the performance was about closed. The music and lamps were dying out. The "cheat and jig," miscegenetically speaking, was nearly danted out. Balance to partiers. Hands all round. All chassé. "Home, sweet home," with variations.



NEW YORK DAILY NEWS.

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1864.

PRICE

A CALCIUM LIGHT EXPLODES.

Two Persons Killed and Several Wounded.

Speeches by Ex-Gov. Wickliffe of Kentucky, Gov. Seymour of New York, Ex-Gov. Weller of California, the Hon. A. J. Rogers, the Hon. Luke F. Cozans, J. G. Dudley, Esq., the Hon. Amasa J. Parker, Matthew Hale Smith, Esq., Geo. M. Curtis, Esq., the Hon. A. Oakley Hall, the Hon. Conrad Swackhammer, the Hon. W. H. Lawrence of Rhode Island, Gen Morgan of Ohio, Thomas T. Everett, Thomas J. Miles, Isaac Coleman, W. H. Dunphy, Esqs., Messrs. Perrine, Wedgwood and others.

The mass meeting of the Democracy held in Union Square last evening, under the auspices of the Young Men's Democratic Association, to ratify the nomination of McClellan and Pendleton, was a large gathering, and was only surpassed in numbers by the rally of the Democracy at the same place just previous to the meeting at the Chicago Convention. Six stands for speakers were erected at various points in the open area extending around the south end of the Park, and all of them were surrounded during the evening by crowds of eager listeners. The stands were all ornamented with Chinese lanterns bearing mottoes and inscriptions befitting the occasion. For an hour previous to the opening of the meeting it was heralded by salutes of cannon from Union Park, by skyrockets and by music from the main stand, and when the time for organizing the meeting arrived, the entire space around the south end of the Square was filled with people.

The turn out of Democratic Clubs and associations was not so large as usual, but the masses were there, and by their enthusiasm and applause of the speakers—particularly those who spoke of peace and a speedy end of the war—showed that they are determined to win in the coming election. Subjoined we give full reports of the speeches at the various stands, with the officers of the meeting and the resolutions adopted:

STAND No. 1.

This was the main stand, and was located at the south end of the park, directly opposite the entrance to Broadway. Suspended around the stand was a row of Chinese lanterns, each bearing an inscription of the names of McClellan and Pendleton, together with appropriate mottoes, such as "The Union and the Constitution," "The Union must and shall be preserved," etc., etc.

The time appointed for the organization of the meeting was eight o'clock; but, as early as seven o'clock, the people began to gather round the main stand, and before eight the entire area in front of the stand, extending into and blocking up the entrance to Broadway, and reaching up to the doors of the Union Place hotel, was filled with a compact mass of human beings. The crowd was kept in good humor by the excellent music discoursed from the stand until the hour for opening the meeting arrived.

REMARKS OF LUKE COZANS, ESQ.
FELLOW CITIZENS: It is not becoming in me, one of yourselves, to preside over the deliberations of this vast assemblage; rather let that place be filled by a veteran Democrat from another State, who comes here to offer his congratulations with yours. The Democracy of this city are determined to stand true to their history and pledges in the future as in the past. To the strangers who have come here to visit us to-night we promised that we would show them a grand gathering of the staunch Democracy of the Empire City, and most nobly have you by this great outpouring of the masses justified our pledges. We now want you to say to this great State that we intend to roll up such a vast majority across the Eastern Bridge as shall place New York the first among the first of Democratic States. We want you to, as we know you will, roll up such a majority as will sweep across the nation with irresistible force, until it is lost among the broad waters of the Pacific. The whole welfare of humanity (not of this nation merely) demands that this should be done.

A Voice—What does McClellan say?
Mr. Cozans—George B. McClellan accepts the nomination. [Tremendous cheers.] He accepts it, feeling that whenever the life of the nation is in danger, no one man has the right to place his own life in the scale against it. I now have the pleasure of nominating as chairman of this meeting Loring Andrews Esq.

The question on this nomination was put and carried unanimously.

REMARKS OF LORING ANDREWS, ESQ.
Mr. Andrews on coming forward said:

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF NEW YORK: I thank you for the honor you have conferred upon me. I have no speech to make, but shall give all my own time and yours to the able gentlemen who

will address you. And first you will please listen to the reading of the list of Vice Presidents.

Mr. Rodgers then read the following list:

VICE PRESIDENTS.
James T. Brady,
Wm. O. Prime,
Edwin Croswell,
August Belmont,
J. Reineyn Brodhead,
Amos K. Hadley,
O. B. Potter,
Manton Marble,
John T. Hoffman,
Cornelius Vanderbilt,
O. Godfrey Gunther,
Abraham Durfee,
John Anderson,
John M. Harboure,
William M. Tweed,
Wilson G. Hunt,
R. L. M. Barlow,
George Law,
Daniel Delah,
F. S. Lathrop,
James Bryce,
John McKoon,
Daniel E. Delavau,
Philip W. Euge,
F. H. Churchill,
Loring Andrews,
Robert Froelish,
John Kelly,
Henry Hilson,
Samuel J. Tilden,

Oswald Ottendorfer,
Wm. Channing,
Augustus Schell,
Loyal S. Pend,
Benjamin Ray,
George B. Greer,
Charles P. Daly,
Lveugus Edgertou,
William Jodson,
Horace F. Clark,
James Brooks,
Andrew Mills,
James McMahon,
Michael Connolly,
Theo. E. Tomlinson,
Ignatius Flynn,
Bern L. Budd,
Clandius L. Mouell,
D. P. Ingraham,
Albert Cardozo,
Emmet Blair,
James English,
Francis R. Tilton,
John T. Agnew,
Thomas J. Foreman,
Frederick E. Marber,
Charles Devlin,
Peter B. Sweeny,
William H. Aspluwall,
Richard Lathurs,
John K. Hackett,
Philip L. Cozans,
James Lynch,
Thomas C. Fields,
John P. Brady,
William Abbot,
Legrand G. Capers,
Hiram Ketchum,
John Randall,
Dr. R. F. Stevens,
Nathaniel Wolfe,
Hiram Crauston,
John B. Borst,
Moses M. Laird,
Gideon J. Tucker,
John Bartlett,
Henry Channoy, Jr.,
A. Schellin,
George H. Purser,
George W. McLean,
Henry R. Hollinire,
Henry Alker,
Alfred J. Lockwood,
H. Hill Fowler,
Joshua J. Henry,
James Murphy,
Chester Briggs,
James Irving,
Florence McCarthy,
Jeremiah Taylor,
Ed. L. Hearn,
Wm. O'Donnell,
John S. Giles,
D. C. Birdsall,
Benjamin McCabe,
Samuel Boardman,
William Cauldwell,
Benjamin P. Baker,
Horatio P. Carr,
Philander Reed,
W. J. O. Kenney,
R. T. Entwistle,
Nathaniel Jarvis, Jr.,
Geo. T. Dewland,
John Moore,
James Mahony,
James E. Nolan,
Jeremiah Larocque,
John Warren,
Alfred S. Dusenbury,
Isaac Robinson,
John Hardy,
Wm. A. Barr,
E. J. Shandley,
Isaac Dubois,
Henry M. S.,
M. T. Cozans,
Edw. J. Hamilton,
F. L. Vulte, Jr.,
Charles Koster,
Henry W. Allen,
Samuel Coulter,
Henry H. Morange,
Thomas Bolger,
Benjamin P. Baker,
John H. Decker,
James Watson,
Peter H. Jackson,
Patrick Kerin,
Thos. T. Everett,
E. J. Hartery,
Reuben C. Woodruff,
Alexander McGarran,
Thomas Dunphy,
P. J. Wall,
Michael Colter,
William E. Traversa,
George P. Benson,
Wm. L. Ely,
Benjamin F. Britton,
John M. Tracy,
Dennis Quinn,
Charles Cole,
A. J. Matthewson,
William H. Tracey,
John H. Hartnett,
Francis Houghtaling,
Spencer W. Cooe,
Theo. E. Kemp,
Joseph Bellesheim,
S. P. Ingraham, Jr.,
S. S. Cohen,
Thomas W. Casey,

The following resolutions were then read in a loud and clear tone of voice by Spencer S. Cone, Esq. and were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the preservation of the Union, the maintenance of the Constitution and the defense of the equal rights of the States have always been, and are now, the fundamental principles of the Democratic party; that we received them as sacred trusts from our fathers, and will, with God's help, hand them down unimpaired to our posterity; and that neither military disaster, political faction or foreign war shake our settled purpose to enforce the equal operation of the laws of the United States upon the people of every State.

Resolved, That peace is not only the end sought by all wars, but also the end which we heartily believe would long since have been attained by the Government of the United States in the civil war now devastating our country, but for the unconstitutional proclamations of the Federal Executive, his refusal and

of that of his fanatical advisers to listen to the suggestions of reason and true policy; the creation by them of every possible barrier to the voluntary return to the Union of the seceded States; the thoughtless execution of conditions precedent, which the Government of the United States has no power or capacity to demand; the unconstitutional legislation of the present Congress, and the interference of incompetent civilians, governed wholly by party hatreds and a determination to destroy the Union rather than abandon a single abolition dogma, with the military plans of our greatest leaders in the field.

Resolved, That the present war should have no other object than the restoration of the Union as it was and the defense of the Constitution as it is; and that we demand no conditions precedent of peace, except renewed fidelity on the part of the seceded States, to the original compact of Union.

Resolved, That the nomination of George B. McClellan, by the greatest and most patriotic convention which has met in the New World, since that which formed the Federal Constitution, was but a just response to the popular will, the people having already chosen him as their standard-bearer upon the strength of his character and record; and that on his election hang our last hopes of success in the present war; security and national reintegration in an honorable peace; the restoration of the rights of the citizens, and the perpetuation not only of the form but of the spirit of republican government throughout the land. Soldier, statesman, patriot and Christian he stands so high, so great, in all he has said or done since his entrance into public life, that the people have seen in him the hero who was demanded by them as their leader in the greatest crisis of their country, and will place him in the Presidential chair in spite of all that force or fraud can contrive against him.

Resolved, That the public services, eminent abilities, vigorous intellect and published character of our candidate for the Vice Presidency, George H. Pendleton, are fully recognized by his selection for the second place upon the Democratic ticket.

During the reading of the resolutions, which were greeted with frequent applause, a delegation from the First Ward McClellan Association arrived on the ground and were enthusiastically cheered.

After the adoption of the resolutions the President introduced as the first speaker, Mr. Andrew J. Rodgers of New Jersey.

SPEECH OF MR. RODGERS.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW-CITIZENS: You are assembled here to-night to ratify our nomination for President and Vice President. You are assembled under different circumstances from those under which you assembled before. In former times, under Democratic rule, when we wish to consult upon national affairs, it was the good fortune of our country to stand united in all its power, like Rome in her best period. I must confess, fellow-citizens, that I approach the Presidential contest with despondency and gloom. [Voice, "No, no, we're bound to win."] The nation is engaged in a great civil war, brought upon us by those who now hold the helm of State; these are the men whom we are called upon to displace from power and to put in their stead the hero of Antietam. [Cheers, and cries of "We'll do it."] And we will do it, not by appealing to the passions of the people, but by appealing to their reason and their humanity. We all know that the Democracy cannot succeed in this election by their own might alone, but we must appeal to the conservative and rational portion of the Republican party to vote for McClellan and help us save the country. [Applause.] We told that party in 1860 the consequences of electing a sectional and Abolition candidate to the Presidency, but they would not listen to us. They told us that the Constitution was a "league with death and a covenant with hell;" they stigmatized us as "Union scoundrels;" they scoffed at the idea of the South seceding from the Union, and said they "would not

be kicked out;" they said the Union "needed a little bloodletting, and that it would be all the better for it." And now, instead of fulfilling the promises they made to the masses to induce them to vote their ticket, they have drenched the land in blood and filled our country with misery, mourning, lamentation and woe. Yes, fellow-citizens, I charge the party now in power with having been the means of filling our land with new made graves, and of spreading the intimated visage of death and destruction throughout our once happy country. And in the loyal States where they could not behold the immediate ravages of war, they have used the mailed hand of military despotism and tyranny to trample down our bleeding Constitution. [Applause.] And now, fellow-citizens, we are about to meet these assassins of our liberties, these men whose garments are reeking with the blood of Abolition rule—at the ballot box. The people will replace the Abolitionists who have been the means of plunging the country into this cruel war. Let us look out that in the coming election we elect George B. McClellan, and remove from power those who have stolen our liberties from us. [Applause.] Rather than let Abe Lincoln [groans for Lincoln] continue in power another four years let us arraign him at the bar

of the civilized world for hupeachment and trial. [Applause.] Let us put him down with his accursed "to whom it may concern" doctrine by the constitutional doctrine of George B. McClellan. [Applause.] Let us give them to understand that we are going to make military men subservient to civil law; that we are going to rescue our liberties, and hand down our constitutional government unimpaired to our posterity. [Applause.] If we succeed in his election, you will soon behold the stars and stripes again floating proudly from every hill-top throughout the length and breadth of the land. [Applause.] Under Democratic rule the career of our country had no parallel in history, but now we behold the country, sunken as it is, under the despotism of Abe Lincoln. [Applause.] Contrast it with its condition under Washington, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, and other Democratic patriots who have filled the presidential chair. It was the fanatics at Washington who furnished the fuel to kindle the civil war now devastating our land. [A voice—"Three cheers for the Chicago platform," which was responded to.] The speaker then proceeded to argue from historical parallels that a united people, though smaller in numbers than the South, had always shown that they could not be subjugated, although they are frequently conquered by conciliation and compromise. But, say the opposition, what are going to do if you elect your candidate. I will tell you what we are going to do. We are going to cancel the Emancipation Proclamation and all confiscation laws. [Governor Seymour here came upon the stand and was greeted with the wildest enthusiasm, the cheers being prolonged for several minutes.] When the tumult had subsided the speaker continued: We intend to remove from power those who are fattening on the public spoils; we intend to shake off the shackles of despotic power; we intend to put down the greedy cormorants who are speculating upon the misfortunes of the people and fattening off their blood; we intend to make our country the refuge and protector of foreigners and the oppressed of all lands;

we intend to put a stop to the massacre of Southern women and children by armed barbarian negroes; we intend to stop arbitrary arrests, and the suppression of newspapers, and to make every man's home his castle. [Applause.] Before I conclude, fellow-citizens, I wish to exhibit to you a relic of old fashioned Democracy. I hold in my hand a fifty cent piece in silver, (holding up the piece to the audience who greeted the strange sight with uproarious laughter and applause.) If you elect McClellan, we intend to bring back that currency, so that if you die and make your will and have any of it on hand, you can know that you have left something to your children. On that piece you behold Washington; there is Jefferson, there is McClellan, and there (holding up a ten cent postage currency) is Abe Lincoln. [Uproarious laughter.] Fellow-citizens will you rally in November for our candidates? ["We will," "we will."] Let us take off our coats and go into the contest with vigor and determination, and in November next we will release ourselves from the misrule and tyranny of the present Administration. [Applause.]

EX-GOVERNOR WICKLIFFE'S SPEECH.

The Chairman introduced Ex-Gov. Wickliffe of Kentucky, who was received with applause, and said:

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF NEW YORK: I am before you to-night under great disadvantages; not well, and I feel a depression of spirits calculated to prevent me from meeting my own wishes on this occasion. When I had the honor of addressing the citizens of New York in 1862, in a hall, the name of which I cannot now remember (Cooper Institute), we there started the ball necessary to save the Union. The gallant State of which I am a native born, had not then felt the iron heel of oppression, but I then predicted, and they do not feel it, and I dare not say within the limits of that State what I have said in New York, and what I intend to say to you to-night. [Cheers.] What has called this great and almost unlimited meeting here to-night? It is the consciousness that your liberties, your country, your personal happiness, your Constitution is in danger of being destroyed by the foe—by a soul despotism unparalleled in the history of man. [Cheers.] Sir, how are we to meet this despotism? We may differ as to the choice of the man who should be the standard-bearer of the Democracy. You may prefer one, I may prefer another; but, thank God, with a unanimity unexampled in the history of nominations in Kentucky, we have a leader upon whom we can all rely in safety and confidence, and if the people will do their duty, he will work out the salvation of this nation, and that man is George B. McClellan. [Cheers.] Our first man was named George. He was a good President; and now we have two men upon our

platform both of whose given names are George, and I say three cheers for George B. McClellan. [Prolonged cheers.] I would not have the time or power, nor would you have the patience, if I were to undertake to discuss all the questions, and measures, and outrages which this unholy Administration has inflicted upon our bleeding country. I have read hastily this morning the speech recently delivered by the "boss" of this administration [laughter]; the man who seated himself in the office of the State Department with a bell upon his right hand and one upon his left. Do you know who he is? [Cries of "Bill Seward."] I tell him not to ring his bells at me. [Laughter.] Sir, he has been pleased to point out the mode and manner in which this Administration is to conduct us to peace, harmony and Union, and he has ignored the principle of his captain in this cruise against the Constitution of our Government. His mode of settling a peace is somewhat different. Mr. Lincoln's peace is now openly avowed to be "no overture of peace to rebels in arms, lay down your arms, consent to be hung as we may choose, consent to surrender your liberty and your independence as State Government, and let us dictate to you the rule for your civil and domestic Government and status, and we will receive you by the grace of God, as new territories." [Laughter and cheers.] I understand that Mr. Seward does not go the whole length of that platform of settlement which Lincoln says in his proclamation. "To all whom it may concern"—no peace, nor negotiations for peace shall ever be received, unless the South first lay down their arms, and emancipate all their negroes; and then he will negotiate with them upon reasonable terms. There is not a man in the country who believes that Abraham Lincoln can conduct the war with safety to the Union, and the prospect of restitution. Then why, fit the name of God, continue him in that position? In 1861, when the Federal Congress met, this man was in power, and had the "bell" as his principal. He then told the American people, told Congress, and told the people of Europe that the ship of State was but a little shaken—that in three months all would be set-

tled; that it required but a few men and a few dollars. We have given four billions of money and two millions of men, as brave and valiant as ever fought under any flag, and still he wants 300,000 more. For what? To murder in a war, for what? To restore this Union? No! no! They do not intend to restore it until they shall have emancipated the poor negro, subjugated the States, destroyed the Constitution, broken down the spirit of the white man. If, continued Gov. Wickliffe, a man had engaged a carpenter to do work, who squandered twice the amount he had asked for to complete the job, and left it unfinished, he would discharge him and employ another. They must do so here, and give their work into the hands of an engineer—one who understands his business. [Cheers.] If Abraham Lincoln were elected, he might bid farewell to civil liberty and Union. The speaker then went on and gave instances in Kentucky of what he claimed to be great oppression and tyranny, and called upon The Tribune to deny them if it dare. One, he stated, was the case of a Mr. McCoy, who, with his family, was arrested while attending the last moments of a dying child—not allowed to remain over night to close her eyes. What would they do with a man who did such things? [Cries of "hang him!"] Oh, no; he would not hang him—he was not fit to die—but leave him to his own reflection and repentance. [Cheers.]

SPEECH OF GOVERNOR SEYMOUR.

GOVERNOR HORATIO SEYMOUR was then introduced to the audience, and was greeted with long applause. When quiet had to some extent been restored, he said:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: Neither my health nor my voice will permit me to address you at any length, but I feel that I cannot do better than address you a few words on this occasion. I have just returned from the Chicago Convention. I was your representative there, in part, and believe me, I stand before you now, imbued with the spirit which animated that patriotic body of men, and the vast assemblage which attended upon its proceedings. Animated by the hope that by our proceedings we might do something to restore the Union of our country, to bring back peace to our distracted land, and to uphold our Constitution and our liberties, we met in the City of the West with our brothers, from the other portions of the Union in order to express our sentiments in the nomination of our candidate for the Presidency. I have seen much of political gatherings. It has been my fortune to mingle much in public life. I have attended many political conventions, but never before in the course of my experience, have I attended a convention so absorbed by one single idea, so

animated by one common purpose—to save our Union, and to save our country, as pervaded that party of men. [Cheers.] Not only was this manifested by the delegates who spoke for the several States which they represented, but it was true of the vast assemblage of citizens who came up from every portion of our country to witness the deliberations of the Convention. They had recently heard the letter emanating from the President of these United States, "to all whom it may concern," and it concerned them all to find that this terrible war, in which we have been engaged for three years, was not waged solely to restore our Union or uphold our institutions, had been waged for so little purpose in restoring peace to our distracted country. We are now called upon by our Constitutional duties to sit in judgment upon this Administration. It is now not only our right, but it is our duty to inquire, after we have expended more than \$200,000,000, after we have given this Government more than 2,000,000 of men—it is our right to inquire, and to demand a reply to that inquiry, why is it so far from our country being restored to its prosperous condition previous to the outbreak of the rebellion; is it that we have generally been vanquished in the South and the rebel armies have been marching northward? Why is it that there has been this utter failure in bringing this war to a successful end? It must be either by reason of the policy of the

Government, or on the part of those who have borne arms in support of our flag. It must be either the civil policy on the part of the Government, or else it must be that our armies have not come up to the just expectations of the people. Who will dare to say this? Who will dare to say that the fault lies with the brave and gallant men who have so fearlessly fallen in defense of the flag which we all love. [Loud cheers.] Who will dare to say that we have failed in these efforts because our people have withdrawn either their means or their men, or their efforts to uphold or support this Union? Who will dare to ask, standing amid the new-made graves of five hundred thousand men who have fallen victims in this bloody war; who will dare to say that it is owing to the want of bravery, or zeal, or devotion of the gallant men who have battled under the commands of this Administration. [Shouts of "No one, it was the Administration."] All this the community has a right to expect of them. Have they not done enough by their efforts to save the sinking ship? After the battle of Gettysburg; after the siege of Vicksburg; after the opening of the Mississippi, when we had sailed up to Charleston, Savannah and Mobile, when we had possession of Louisiana and the mouth of the Mississippi river, had there been wisdom at Washington to avail ourselves of the advantages gained, to-day we should have been living in peace under a restored Union, and under a Constitution respected by every class in the community.

I charge here that what we have suffered is to be traced solely and entirely to the policy of this Administration. It is chargeable upon their desire to protract this contest, which they had calculated so much to enlarge their power, which is so much to their advantage, and which minister so much to their ambition. [Applause.] Now it has been charged upon us that we are untrue to the Union. Where have we been untrue to the Union. Why should we not be faithful to it—this glorious Union? Why the Democratic party raised us up from one of the smallest to the most magnificent nation of the earth. [Cheers.] We untrue to the Union, which was the work of the Democratic party through its great statesmen! [Cheers.] No, it is not we who are afraid to have these States come back again into the Union. [Loud applause.] It is not we who desire gain from our revolution with the South. It is not that party outside of power which feels none of the advantages of this war, but feels so heavily its burdens. It is not such a party that fears to protract the struggle. It is not this party that stands in the way of the restoration of the Union. [Applause.] No, it is the party that from the beginning of this contest, by its legislation, by its policy, by its evil passions, by its sordid intrigues, has imposed upon us all the obstacles that have prevented the South from coming back to her allegiance. Who is it that asks any conditions? Who is it that places proclamations upon our Constitution? Who is it that places difficulties in the way to restore our distracted country? Read the letter of Abraham Lincoln and you will learn who it is. Does he say before this Union is restored, that some conditions shall be performed? Very far from this. Does he ask, whenever the people of the South will return again within the limits of this Union, they shall have restored to them every constitutional right, that every State shall have the rights they enjoyed before this unhappy division of our country? I have said here to-night that our failure

to restore the Union, and bring it back to one land was due to the policy of the Administration. You have had here to-night one of the most striking illustrations of the truth of this assertion. What spot of ground is there in this broad country which has been pacified by the policy of the Administration? Our armies have had possession of Louisiana for nearly two years. It has been held for that time under the civil policy of the Administration. But have they brought it back into the Union? Have they restored it to peace? You know that it is not so, and you know that the condition of Louisiana to-day, after two years of occupation by our armies under the policy of the Administration is worse than the day we began

the military possession of that portion of our country. At the outset of this war our hearts were gladdened with joy when we were told that Kentucky was true to the Union. To-day we are told that Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland and portions of Virginia have remained in the Union under the guidance of men who were then hailed by all classes as patriots, but to-day we are told that these men are from three years' experience of the policy of this Administration hostile to the Government and are treated as if they were traitors to the cause of our Union, instead of being her firmest supporters. Now, it is true that from the beginning of this war to this moment the policy of the Administration has been such that it has spread dissatisfaction through our land. While our armies have fought so well and so bravely to support the miserable policy of this Administration, so wide has the discontent become in the North to-day that the Government will not permit the citizens of Indiana, Illinois, and Ohio to purchase arms and ammunition, States without whose votes Lincoln could never have been made President. [Cheers.] Is this the policy calculated to bring back peace to our land? We must choose between the two parties. On the one hand you have a party made up undoubtedly of some good men. I do not stand here to assail them, for some of them possess personal worth and intelligence, but nevertheless their party is animated by mistaken political principles. What has arisen from them? War, the ruin of the land. Now, in opposition to that, you have another party. A time-honored organization, identified with all the glories of our history, an organization animated by sentiments opposed to those I have stated, men who love their country, who mean to preserve this Union, who mean to bring peace to this country, and who will battle for constitutional liberty. You must choose between the two. Upon your choice rests the destinies of this land. Four years more of such an Administration will eventually ruin this great country. We have placed in nomination a man who has shown his devotion to the country in behalf of its maintenance. We have nominated a man against whom not even our political opponents can cast one word of reproach. So far as personal purity of character is concerned, we have placed in nomination a man who can cement this Union together—a man who declares it shall be preserved. [Cheers.] We have placed in nomination George B. McClellan, the patriot, hero and Christian. [Tremendous cheers.]

Gov. Seymour having concluded amid loud cheers, Ex-Governor Weller of California was announced as the next speaker.

REMARKS OF EX-GOV. WELLER.

He said he had been a Democrat for twenty-five years, and he intended to do all his duty for the Democracy in this contest. When a member of Congress he saw this storm approaching years ago, when the cloud was no bigger than a man's hand, and he then predicted it would break out. He noticed that most of the difficulties of this life originated in a disregard of the eleventh commandment. He would tell them what that commandment was: "Fret not thy gizzard about other men's affairs; but attend to thine own." He then related a humorous incident illustrative of this idea, which occurred in Plainville, California. There was no question now as to the tariff, and United States Bank internal improvements, or the other questions which used to agitate the public; the only question at issue in our day, was whether we were to have free government or military despotism. We had to make a selection between these two issues, and there were three candidates from whom to make a selection, Abraham Lincoln, who had not only perverted the Government, but had introduced corruption into every department of it; General Fremont or Gen. George B. McClellan. As to choosing between Lincoln and Fremont there would be in a difficulty similar to that in which he once found himself in California. He was riding along, and came to where two roads diverged, when he inquired of a youngster which of them it would be better for him to take in the pursuit of his journey? The reply he received

was: "If you take either one, before you get one half the way you will wish you had taken the other." The Democratic opponents of the Administration were called traitors. Traitors to what? he would inquire. Not the Union or the Constitution, any would pretend. He had never taken an oath to support Abe Lincoln, and God helping him, he never would. He had sworn to maintain and support the Constitution, not any Administration. Was it not unjust, then, to charge disloyalty on the Democratic party because they refused to support this Administration? The cry now was that the South must be subjugated. But he could tell them that eight millions of Americans could never be subjugated. No American people could be subjugated. If all Europe combined were to send their armies to our shores with the intent to subjugate us, could they do it? Never, never. They might bombard our towns and confiscate our property; they might cause rivers of blood to run, and massacre our citizens; but we would, when all failed, retire to the fastnesses of our mountains—we would raise every domicile in our land to the ground, and destroy every blade of grass; but we would still fight on and fight ever, until we found the last intrenchment of liberty in our graves. Subjugation was an absolute impossibility. Then, we were also told that subjugation was to be followed by miscegenation. The doctrine was held that the intermarriage of the Irishman with the negro would improve and elevate the Irishman. If there were a Republican Irishman in the crowd before him, he put to him whether he would extend his hand to a black wench and say familiarly to her, "Come to my arms, my darling." Such would be a picture, indeed, if it were possible. The Democracy stood by the doctrine of State Rights, which would secure equality to them, and the prerogative of forming their own institutions. New England had abolished slavery because the Yankees had, after making a calculation, found it no longer paid them to keep it. It was not philanthropy, but cute Yankee cunning that led to abolition in New England. And then how did they abolish slavery? Not by allowing the slave to go free, but by selling him to a Southern master. Now they ask for 500,000 more men to continue a war upon the sons of these very men who bought their slaves, in the interest of Abolition. They have caused our rivers to run with blood, they have piled up a pillar of human bones higher than that of ancient Egypt, in pursuance of their policy, but they still cry out for more. Truth compelled him to say that the clergyman of New England were the principal cause of this bloody war. They did not teach the law of kindness, nor follow the spirit of Christ; but they had turned their churches into arsenals and distributed rifles to be used against their fellow-citizens from the South. If these were Christians, he could only say that there was a place down below filled with such Christians. The Democratic divisions in the past had put this party in power; their pretext of philanthropy had nearly destroyed the country. Let us, then, get back to the principles of the starting point in our country's history, and the "good old flag" would again wave in all its splendor, respected alike in the North and the South. Let it be remembered that the political struggle to come would be a fearful one. The present party would not give up its hold on power without striving to the utmost to retain it. There was one plank in the Chicago platform that he had put in there himself. It was this: "Resolved, That the direct interference of the military authority of the United States in the recent elections held in Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri and Delaware, was a shameful violation of the Constitution; and a repetition of such acts in the coming election will be held as revolutionary, and resisted with all the power and means under our control." He supposed that a solution sufficiently explained it all; but if an explanation were necessary, he could tell them that it meant a free election, a freely interfered with by bayonets, or else a "free fight." The speaker closed amid loud applause.

REMARKS OF J. G. DUDLEY.

J. G. Dudley of Westchester County then addressed the assemblage. He said he was al-

ways at home in a crowd of Democrats, for he had been a Democrat for 31 years, as long as he had been a voter. His grandfather fought for the country and he had a right to speak. He did not know but some Provost Marshal and posse was going to arrest the crowd; but they would have a hard time to take this assemblage down to Fort Lafayette. The present civil war was brought about by the teachings of the Boston atheists. The "stream" that Lincoln talks so flippantly about "crossing" without "swapping horses" was a stream of blood, and we are going to "swap" the lean, lantern-jawed stallion named Lincoln, for a compact, noble horse we call Little Mac. When he shall have been elected "E Pluribus Unum" would

again mean something when inscribed on the American flag.

The audience at stand No. 1 then adjourned.

STAND No. 2.

D. C. Birdsall opened the meeting and spoke nearly as follows:

REMARKS OF D. C. BIRDSALL.

DEMOCRATS OF NEW YORK: I am happy to greet so many upon this great occasion; I am happy to see that so many have assembled to show their appreciation of the great cause of civil liberty which we are this night to discuss.

Philip W. Engs was then elected chairman of the meeting. After some eloquent and appropriate remarks, he announced the Honorable Mr. Lawrence.

SPEECH OF THE HON. W. B. LAWRENCE.

FELLOW-CITIZENS AND DEMOCRATS OF THE GREAT STATE OF NEW YORK: I am proud to see that so many Democrats have assembled to honor by their presence at this meeting the nomination of George B. McClellan as candidate for President of the United States. Those of you, gentlemen, who know George B. McClellan, know that he did more for this country from the time of his brief campaign in Western Virginia to the period when he was basely removed from the command of the army of the Potomac than any hero of antiquity—than any hero of modern times has ever done for his country. The report of George B. McClellan has dissipated the last remnant of a doubt as to his ability displayed in that memorable campaign. Gentlemen, as a member of the Chicago Convention, which Convention nominated him, I have been asked why he was selected of all others to represent the principles of the Democratic party in this coming contest. Gentlemen, I am ready to answer that question. I am here to answer it to-night before the Democracy of the City of New York. When we assembled in convention, we felt that the liberties of our country were in danger through the usurpation of the Executive power; and the history of mankind for ages demonstrates that the great struggle of humanity for freedom has been principally a struggle against Executive usurpation. Humanity in this cause has fought and bled; and in this cause the millions trampled under the feet of European despotism battled against the solid mass work of the feudal system. Gentlemen, Abraham Lincoln has violated the Constitution of the United States. He has been guilty of that grossest crime against the sovereignty of a free people—Executive usurpation. In the decision of a celebrated case involving this very question, the eminent Judge Marshall says: [If the Constitution can be set aside, then there is no use of a Constitution.] [Loud applause.] Again, gentlemen, Mr. Lincoln has violated article four of the Constitution which declares that, "the trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury, and such trial shall be held in the State where said crime was committed." Gentlemen, I felt when Mr. Lincoln issued his document "to whom it may concern" he again did violence to the same article of our glorious Constitution—that Constitution which is the sole palladium of American liberty. "No slave or other person held to service in any State or Territory escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due." All the purpose of our platform, gentlemen, is that we have peace—not peace without the Union, but peace with the Union and Constitution in its integrity. Gentlemen, I might express this poetically:

"If the vanquished warrior bow

Spare him by our holy vow."

But we prefer to spare for the sake of our brothers and sons—spare for the sake of our Union and our glorious Constitution.

SPEECH OF THE HON. WILLIAM D. MURPHY.

The Hon. Wm. D. Murphy of Albany was the next speaker. He was received with cheers and spoke as follows: This is among the happiest hours, fellow-citizens, of my whole life. All hail to the gallant chief whose nomination was this day ratified—not as the achievement of a party, but as a glorious triumph of the people themselves. [Applause.] It has, indeed, been difficult for me to determine, since the beginning of the unfortunate civil conflict in which we are engaged, whether we had more to fear from the real enemies of the country than from the apathy and indifference of the people themselves to the real condition of public affairs. But—thanks to the unconquerable spirit of the true American liberty—the result of the Chicago Convention affords the most unequivocal proof that the people have, at length, resolved no longer quietly to submit to the continuance of the bloody and

disgraceful policy which is fast destroying the unity and integrity of the nation and all the manifold blessings secured to us by a republican form of government. [Loud applause.] The result of the Chicago Convention, I tell you frankly, was a triumph of the people over the politicians. [Applause and "That's so."] It was a triumph of patriotism over individual selfishness and political corruption—a triumph of popular sovereignty over party centralization. ["Bully for Murphy." Applause and laughter.] It has from the beginning always been the chief object of the politicians to defeat the nomination of McClellan, if they could. The evidences betrayed by political movements throughout the country for a long time have fully established this fact beyond all controversy. Two years ago when I did myself the honor to nominate him for the Presidency at a large and enthusiastic meeting at Albany, called to rejoice over the election of Gov. Seymour, I was severely reprimanded by leading politicians, although the meeting indorsed the nomination unannouncedly. [Applause.] Still later in the early part of March last, when I circulated a call in that city, which was unanimously signed by his friends, for a meeting to effect an organization with a view to his nomination, the project was crushed out by the interposition of leading local politicians. The same is true of the meeting which was also to have taken place at the capital only a few days after the great popular demonstration in support of our candidate, which we witnessed in this square on the 10th of last month, and which I had the distinguished pleasure briefly to address. Neither was that demonstration—the mightiest and most overwhelming uprising of the people ever witnessed on this continent—the work of politicians. [Applause.] No, my friends, the people, the real sovereigns of the republic, the intelligence, industry, wealth, and real power and strength of the nation, were here then as they are now; not to subserve the ends of politicians or mere party interests, not to institute a policy in the administration of the Government which will discriminate in favor of one section of the country to the detriment of another; arraying the North against the South, or the East against the West, in a sectional conflict, which cannot but terminate in the destruction of the Government; but they are here now, as they were then, to restore to the country, by the election of McClellan to the Presidency, all the constitutional rights and privileges of every section, and re-establish Federal supremacy once more throughout the length and breadth of the whole land. [Cheers.] These are the great and glorious objects to be attained by our

Union and Liberty. [Loud applause.] McClellan as President that will bring us the blessings of peace. [Cheers.] The honorable Secretary of State says that we should allow Abraham Lincoln to retain power for four more years. We propose to say to our brethren of the South, we intend to eject Abraham Lincoln from the Presidency, in order that you may once again have security for your rights and liberties. We intend to elect our candidate despite secessionists and abolitionists. [Cheers.]

THE HON. ANDREW J. ROGERS.

M. C. of New Jersey, (representing the Congressional District in which General McClellan resides), although having already spoken at the main stand, by the special request of the Committee of Arrangements, was next introduced, and made an eloquent appeal in behalf of the Chicago nominee.

REMARKS OF MR. CAMPBELL OF PHILADELPHIA.

The Chairman then introduced Mr. John Campbell, Corresponding Secretary of the Keystone Club of Philadelphia. Mr. C. said:

FELLOW DEMOCRATS: I want to have a little plain talk, and reason this thing with you. Suppose Abe Lincoln says he has the power and the sword—he's the man with the long feet and the little head—I don't want to say anything derogatory of Mr. Lincoln, but I mean to say he has all the attributes of the ape. He has the long arm that reaches below the knee; the big foot—the foot of the nigger [laughter]—and the small head; that is, God did not want to give him any brains, and so made his head small, and the Devil put it into the hearts of the Republicans to make him President. [Applause.] I want to be reported correctly, as I know the reporters have a kind of Freemasonry among themselves, as Dan. O'Connell used to say. One time he was about to make a speech in the County of Kerry, and he knew that there were spies around; and the reporter of The London Times was there, and Dan., turning to the reporter, said, "You'll give me a correct report?" "Yes, sir." "You'll be sure to report my speech right?" "Yes, sir, I'll give you a good report. So Dan ordered every opportunity to be afforded The Times' man to give a good report. But it happened he was in the County of Kerry, and he launched out and made a speech of two hours length, in good Irish, and the

reporter—[Laughter and applause.] Now I want to ask the workingman—and I see many that look like workingmen here—what were your wages four years ago? One dollar a day. What do you get now? Do you get four dollars? [Cries of No, sir!] Coffee then was fourteen cents, butter twenty-four, coal five dollars a tun, flour seven and a half a barrel. And when you examine the same thing after four years of war with Lincoln's greenbacks flying around, and Seward proplusing that the rebellion is nearly crushed—but he never told anything but lies—he was always a false prophet—a prophet of Babel—[Laughter.] And with things as they now are, I ask you has Mr. Lincoln's rule worked profitably, or not? [Cries of No, no!] If you are cheated in the coming election; I say, if you are cheated—because if you are fairly beaten, you must submit—but if the Democrats be cheated by Lincoln's greenbacks and the bayonet, then I expect George B. McClellan will head the Democracy and drive the Abolitionists out of power at all hazards. [Loud and continued cheers.] And if George B. McClellan don't do that, we ought to hang him like a dog. [Applause.] In New York you are powerful, you can carry anything you wish, but I have to go back to Philadelphia, an Abolition town, and fight a Democratic fight, and I will ask my sons of eighteen and fourteen to take the rifle and use it if we do not get fair play. [Applause.] When a man is put up for any office, his opponents generally find fault with him for something he has done that is not right, but with McClellan they find fault for what he has not done. He didn't kill a hundred thousand men before Petersburg, and so they don't want him. Abe & Co. didn't want the rebellion put down, or they would have put McClellan in command, and have put a stop to this war long ago. The speaker then told of the conduct of the Administration toward Col. McCandless of the Pennsylvania Reserves, who was thrice recommended for the appointment of Brigadier General, but who, because he was a Democrat would not be appointed. He said when Col. McCandless came back to Philadelphia and was elected President of the Keystone Club, then the President sent him the appointment as Brigadier, but he took it and burned it in the fire. Col. McCandless had fought under McClellan in the field, and he was now going to fight for him and help place him Commander-in-Chief of the whole army. [Loud applause.] At the conclusion of Mr. Campbell's speech, the Chairman proposed three cheers for Mr. Campbell, which were enthusiastically given.

MR. SCHEMMERHOHN.

was introduced and spoke substantially as follows: The course of revolutions is never backward; and I see by your presence here to-night that you are determined to put George B. McClellan at the head of our national affairs. When we had won the independence of the States those States were sovereign. They determined for mutual benefit to form a Union; and that Union was founded upon the great principle, which underlies the fabric of our Government—the sovereignty of the States. Slavery existed in those States before the Constitution was framed; and in slavery there is anything wrong? It is the bringing of slaves from their native lands. The Constitution had left it to the several States to determine the continuance or discontinuance of this system for themselves—all signing jointly and severally a bond that if any slave escaped from any one State into another he should be remanded to service. That was the bond. But those Puritans, the very men who had made their money by slavery, refused to fulfill the obligation of the bond which they had signed and solemnly sworn to support. This, gentlemen, was the cause of this devastating war. This, gentlemen, was the cause of secession. When Southern owners came to demand the return of their slaves which had escaped, the puritans said, gentlemen we doubt the obligation of the bond. Gentlemen, should sovereign States submit to this? Should sovereign States submit to have their rights trampled upon—rights which they held as sovereign States under the Constitution framed by our fathers? They said no, never; and this gentlemen, has brought upon us the effusion of fraternal blood and the horrors of civil discord.

STAND No. 3.

This stand, as well as others, was admirably constructed and decorated in excellent taste.

Republicans—said there was too much peace in it, others found fault that it contained too much peace. [Cheers.] Opinions of opponents were interesting. In finding fault with their resolution complaining that the Administration had neglected the prisoners lying in the Southern military prisons, they complained that they had found no fault with the rebels as well as the Administration. Mr. Parker said they had found no fault with the rebels, because it would not have done any good. [Laughter and cheers.] The rebels were not to be put down by resolutions. They had complained of the Administration because it had the power to help these suffering prisoners, but did not do it. Mr. Parker then compared the two platforms—those adopted at Baltimore and Chicago. The Republicans differed with them (the Democrats) entirely. ["That's so," and cheers.] The Republicans wanted to re-elect their President and to continue the war; we want the war ended, not, however, by disunion. No. We hold that when the rebel States come back they shall have their rights—rights which the Constitution granted them. Mr. Lincoln's proclamation "To whom it may concern"—for propositions had been made for the restoration of peace and the integrity of the Union—informed them that only such [which admitted the abandonment of slavery] would be considered. That is, when his Majesty will consider them. [Laughter, and groans for old Abe.] In saying this, he (Mr. Lincoln) made a proposition that would forever stand in the way of restoration of the Union. The South were unable to abandon slavery. Mr. Lincoln made slavery stand between the war and the Union, so that the war prosecuted on his platform will continue until every man and dollar in the South had been sacrificed in its behalf. We stand on the opposite platform. We desire peace and the restoration of the Union, and are ready at any time to extend the right hand of love to our brothers of the South. [Much cheering.] Whenever they return to the Union we have nothing to do with slavery, for that is entirely a State matter. [Cheers.] We should only guarantee to each State all its rights under the Constitution. Upon no other basis, the speaker felt assured, could peace ever be obtained. That was the issue. Why did not

the Administration "secure peace"? Why did they ask to carry on the war four years longer? Because they enjoyed power such as no European monarch enjoyed, and because they were unwilling to surrender that power; because legions of officials and contractors would be compelled by its cessation to earn an honest living—these were the reasons why they desired to continue the war. Where would they be in four years hence if the Administration continued in power? ["Aye, that's the question—where?"] Where are we now, after four years of war? The public debt was four thousand millions according to Mr. Thurlow Weed, who was valuable as an authority, although he was of the opposite party, a debt as large as that of Great Britain [A sturdy Briton, "Hi, hand larger"]; and accumulated in four years, while hers had been accumulating 150 years. Great Britain, with all her wealth, was unable to pay that debt, but managed to pay an interest of 5 per cent. for it, smaller by several cents than ours. The whole property of this country was seventeen hundred millions; that of Great Britain five thousand millions, and yet with almost four times our means she is unable to pay the debt—how can we pay it. This vast debt weighed down upon us like an incubus. It is a mortgage, as it were, upon the country at large. Let us divide it among the States. New York's share would be 732,000,000. The interior counties were now raising upon credit immense sums to avoid the draft, accumulating debts of millions, which will eventually become a State debt. What will be the results of such a course? Look at England, one-eighth of her population are in the poor house. If it presses this heavily upon England, where almost everything is taxed, what will be its effect here? Should the war end at once, our debt would be a hundred millions a year—if it continues, the share of each State will probably be \$1,000,000,000, while that of New York is now certainly \$80,000,000. How are we to get along with such debt upon our shoulders? These debts become an incubus upon labor. It's a fact upon the industry of the land, and when labor is oppressed there can be no prosperity. Labor makes a country. When you tax labor, when you bring prices to enormous rates, you destroy at once all hopes for the future. Strange as it is, with these uncontrollable facts before them, the Administration still asks to continue the war at an expense of three or four millions a day. Look at it from another point—in a humanitarian view. How awful the sacrifice of life. One million of men have already been killed—one million of men, upon whom the country depends for its prosperity, lost! Think of it. And yet there were calls every day for more men—now for three hundred thousand,

now for half a million. The edict still goes forth from Washington for more. When will this cease if the Administration continue in power? ["Never, never." "That's so."] But the war is nearly ended. [Laughter.] Secretary Seward comes home to Auburn, gathers around him his neighbors, and tells them, among other things, that the war is nearly over. [Reviewed laughter.] What faith can we have in his predictions? A few years ago he said the war would only be a thirty days or sixty days affair, but now that Atlanta has fallen, he says the war is nearly over. [Laughter again.] The speaker thought the backbone of the rebellion very hard to break. Had Gen. McClellan [Great cheering, which continued for several minutes] remained in his old position the war for the restoration of the Union constitutionally would have been ended long ago. [Cheers.] It is because the war has been conducted on a wrong policy that it is not ended. If this policy, slavery not Union, is continued, it will not be ended for years. [That's so.] At Chicago he had a very interesting conversation with an eminent Tennesseean, who told him that though there was not now a Union man in that State, if "Little Mac" should return to command, or be elected President, as they hoped he would be, nine-tenths of the people would come en masse into the Union. [Cheers.] We want a Union based upon the Constitution, not the one Mr. Lincoln proposes, for that is when a military despotism can abolish slavery. [Cheers.] One-tenth of the people who are not governed can vote, as in the case of North Carolina and Louisiana, etc. It is a military despotism that even the Radical Wade of Ohio and Davis of Maryland denounced publicly. If they elevated to the Presidential chair that great, good and wise man, George B. McClellan, [Great cheers.] they would see that State

coming back into the Union. There were McClellan Union men in every State in the country. [Cheers.] In the campaign they would have to encounter all kinds of misrepresentations. The main question, however, was Union or disunion. One would be the national result of the election of General McClellan [cheers], and for which they depended much upon the vote of New York, which was always cast upon the side of the Convention—that one was the Union, its restoration and maintenance. [Immense cheering.] The energy of every man was required to wrest the Government from the hands it is now in. In conclusion, Mr. Parker exhorted them to make the voice of New York heard throughout the land in the election in November next—let it be potential in electing McClellan and those with him, in whom we all have confidence. Mr. Parker resumed his seat amid the greatest applause, which lasted some minutes.

REMARKS OF MR. DELMAR.

Mr. Delmar said rumors had been widely circulated to the effect that General McClellan had declined the nomination. He took pleasure in totally denying them. Those rumors had been circulated by agents of the government. [Voices in crowd, "We don't believe them."] They had been circulated to affect the stock market. Gold fell during the day in consequence, the government bearing the stock market through the Bank of Commerce, to 236. The fall had been attributed to these rumors. He was in a position to totally repudiate those rumors. The speaker reviewed the career of General McClellan from early life upward. McClellan had not only proved himself a capable officer, but a statesman and a patriot. [Cheers.] This would be a sharp and vigorous campaign, and it should be carried on by the Democracy with every legitimate weapon at their disposal; but he (the speaker) hoped that personal abuse of their opponents would not be resorted to. It would be safe to leave Mr. Lincoln to the verdict of posterity. Mr. Delmar's remarks were very favorably received. He was followed by the Hon. Mr. Smith of Vermont.

REMARKS OF THE HON. MR. SMITH.

He was glad of the opportunity to meet the Democracy of New York. All his life he had lived in a community where the proportions of political parties were about the same as they were in New York—only with this difference—here they had three Democrats to one Republican; up his way it was three Abolitionists to one Democrat. He hoped they would not be disheartened at the result of the election just held in Vermont. Endeavors had been made by Republican papers to misrepresent that result. He would give them the facts. In 1860 they polled about 4,000 votes; in 1863 less than 12,000; on Tuesday last about 15,000. [Cheers.] The speaker contrasted the acts of the Administration with the known principles of the Democratic party. Especially he referred to the currency question, which was of the closest interest to every one. The Secretary of the Treasury had that day been selling bonds of the United States for 35 or 40 cents on the dollar. Why,

the bonds of the Confederate States were worth 75 cents on the dollar in Europe. The way in which supporters of the Administration talked about the currency reminded him of the story of the man who said the world rested on the back of a big elephant. When asked what the elephant stood upon he said the backs of four great turtles; but as for the turtles he couldn't tell what the devil they rested upon. [Laughter and cheers.] If the present Administration was continued in power it was a question for serious consideration what the end would be. He exhorted them to spare no effort to elect George B. McClellan and George H. Pendleton. [Great cheering.]

The Chairman hereupon said he would introduce to the people one of General McClellan's old comrades, General Morgan of Ohio. This announcement was received with cheers, and, on General Morgan advancing, he was welcomed with the most vociferous demonstrations of enthusiastic greeting.

SPEECH OF GENERAL MORGAN OF OHIO.

My friends, I thank you for those cheers. They come from the hearts of all of you at the mention of the name of one of the most glorious patriots who ever graced the land—George B. McClellan. [Renewed and prolonged cheering.] Before speaking of General McClellan let me say a word about the Chicago platform. I address you not alone as Democrats; I appeal to you as Americans; as citizens of this great republic; whose interests are bound up in the well being of the country, which if it goes down we must all down with it together. Concerning one part of that platform I desire to speak. We are now in the fourth year of this great, this terrible war. More than two millions of the young men of the land have rushed north to fight, to die for the great cause of the Union. On the field of battle, or by disease, near one million have been sacrificed. It is a melancholy fact, but it is a fact, that we are no nearer a re-establishment of the Union than we were the day the war started. The reason of this has not been with the armies—not because battles have not been gallantly fought. It is that Mr. Lincoln has departed from the course pursued by Washington, in depending upon brute force alone; in believing that Americans could be trampled on like dogs; that they could be subjugated like slaves; that Americans were destitute of manly spirit and of reason. He has depended upon brute force—upon physical agencies alone, rejecting moral agencies. Don't misunderstand me, I never believed that arms should not have been resorted to. The South threw down the gauntlet, and I, for one, was ready to take it up. But I would have remembered that they were my fellow countrymen, my brothers, and, while I would have grasped the sword in one hand, I would have carried the olive branch in the other. [Tremendous cheering.] In all our wars with other countries—with Great Britain, for instance—we sought peace as the end of war. Battles had been fought in the Revolutionary war after peace had been secured. Why? Because our Government, not refusing to seek peace, had sent commissioners three thousand miles across the ocean to obtain it. Before the news of its ratification could reach this country, the contending armies, ignorant of the fact, had met in combat. So, in 1812, when we were fighting the most arrogant, vindictive nation with whom we ever had to contend—England [groans]—while hostilities were going on we again sent commissioners to Europe to obtain peace. There again the treaty had been signed before we had fought the battle of New Orleans. Later, when we were at war with Mexico, Gen. Scott [three cheers for Gen. Scott], that great and gallant champion of whom all Americans are so justly proud—what did he do? A Democratic Administration was in power then. Side by side with that great warrior and statesman marched the man of peace. Accompanying him through his campaign was Mr. Trist, as Peace Commissioner, waving aloft the olive branch high above the storm of battle. How was it in the case of the Mormons—those men after Mr. Lincoln's own heart? [Laughter.] When they were threatening rebellion the government sent an army to sustain the laws; but with that army went three Peace Commissioners, and through their efforts peace was preserved, and the integrity of the Union preserved, without the loss of a life—without the shedding of one drop of blood. Mr. Lincoln has turned his back upon the history of the country—upon the principles and practice of Washington. Washington was our first George—the first savior of his country! [Cheers.] We are about to place in the Presidential chair our second George, who will once more rescue the country from the brink of ruin. [Immense cheering.] The mistake of Lincoln has not only been the not sending of Peace Commissioners with the army; he has refused to receive overtures of peace at all. I will come back, after

These preliminary remarks, to the Chicago Convention. Mr. Greeley says that the platform calls for an immediate cessation of hostilities. He must have known he was in error. The second resolution of the platform declares that "immediate steps should be taken to procure a cessation of hostilities." Before that cessation could be brought about negotiations must be entered on. If there be any Republican within the sound of my voice, and I trust there are many of them, I would ask them, if they desire the well-being of their country, whether they would not wish to see the war brought to a close, and the institutions of the country preserved. We want peace. Gen. Morgan earnestly appealed to men of all parties to forget their partisan prejudices and rally under the flag of the country with George B. McClellan. McClellan was elected we should have no more war—no draft—no more slain and wounded soldiers—no more bereaved widows and fatherless children, victims of a fratricidal strife.

There was one other clause of the platform. In another resolution it is declared that that foundation stone of our institutions—the ballot box—should remain free and unpolluted. [Cheers.] In Kentucky, in Louisiana, in Maryland, in Delaware and other States, attempts had been made to control the ballot box by the bayonet. At Chicago the delegates simply resolved that the ballot box should remain free. [Cheers.] What then? Any attempt at interference with its freedom and purity will be regarded as revolutionary, and as such we will resist it. [Tremendous cheering.] Who or them—Republican or Democrat—does not know that from the first of Lincoln's Administration to the present hour he had assumed the powers of a military despot? The fact was historical. Even leading Republicans admitted it. The speaker went on to review the entire career of McClellan as soldier and statesman and pronounced the most glowing eulogy upon his character and capacity. He then said: A few words of the other George—George H. Pendleton! [Loud and long continued cheering.] Why, to read the Republican papers, you would suppose him a devil incarnate—the most fearful enemy of his country and its institutions. He is a citizen of the same State with myself. I know that a higher minded gentleman and a purer patriot does not live within the limits of this wide commonwealth. [Tremendous cheering.]

REMARKS OF MR. WEDGEWOOD.

Mr. Wedgewood was next introduced and made a few remarks. He would only say a few words and would not detain them long. He was present at the Chicago Convention, and was proud of the good order and harmony that prevailed there. He wished his hearers could all have been present on that occasion and participated in the rounds of applause that went up for George B. McClellan, the next President of the United States. [Cheers.] The platform was all that could be desired by any one desiring the welfare of his country.

Mr. Wedgewood then called for three cheers for Gov. Seymour, the able Chairman of the Chicago Convention, which were given with a will. This terminated the proceedings at Stand No. 3, the Chairman putting out the lights at the conclusion of Mr. Wedgewood's remarks.

It was now about half past ten o'clock, but the audience still lingered around the stand, apparently reluctant to go away.

STAND No. 4.

This stand was ornamented similarly to the others, with Chinese lanterns bearing inscriptions, "the Union and the Constitution," "Geo. B. McClellan," etc. American flags were also mounted on the various corners of the platform. Long before 8 o'clock a large multitude assembled before the stand, and as they patiently awaited the commencement of the meeting they discussed the great question of the day among themselves. The merits of Lincoln and McClellan were earnestly canvassed, and in all that assemblage, composed of persons of different ranks in wealth, education and profession, there was but one opinion prevalent—that the well-being of the country and the re-establishment of the Union could only be achieved by the election to the Presidency of the United States of that great vindicator of freedom of opinion, speech and press, Major General George B. McClellan.

The meeting was called to order by A. J. Mathewson, who nominated Col. George W. McLean as Chairman. The gentleman, on taking the chair, thanked the assemblage for the honor which they had conferred upon him in choosing him Chairman of their meeting, and then introduced

A. OAKLEY HALL, ESQ.,

who spoke substantially as follows:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: Mr. Cuyler of Philadelphia, one of the most distinguished supporters

of General McClellan, is on the platform, and was expected to address you this evening, but in consequence of exposure, he is not able to be heard in that manner in which he would desire to be heard. I make this apology for him, as I think it is but right. Three years and a half ago this large square was lighted up by the broad rays of sunlight, and not by transparencies as at present. Perhaps nearly all that are here to-night were then assembled, on a call made by the President of the United States, to resent the affront which had been cast upon the country by the firing upon Fort Sumter, and similar acts in Carolina. Gentlemen of the

Democratic school spoke at that time eloquently and fervently, and there was then performed the most wonderful act of unanimity by that party that was ever done. Every one there laid aside his animosities, and all stood shoulder to shoulder to conduct a war for the Constitution and the Union. A Summer passed, and then a Winter, followed by another Summer, when, at last, Abraham Lincoln [repeated groans] by one stroke of the pen threw in the face of the people the emancipation proclamation. Since that time Lincoln has gone on enforcing the Constitution as he interpreted it, and making new laws, which were so dubious and ambiguous that they were brought before the courts of justice. He inaugurated a policy of fighting against you with proclamations, and because you would not follow him in this crusade, you were all called traitors like those in the South. Three and a half years have passed, and I have seen acres of patriots as I do now, while I must confess, I behold also many more aches in the hearts of the multitude at present than at that time. We know that after three and a half years of war, after slaughtering hundreds of thousands of human beings, and while we may be nearer the occupation of the Southern territory, we are not a jot nearer the healing of the Union than we were in the month of April, 1861. A few days ago, I had the honor of addressing some of you in the City Hall Park, where the people gathered together to compare the merits of the various nominees, and I then drew a parallel between the two ships of the Union, of which you composed the crew. It is hardly necessary for me, nor would time permit me, to continue that parallel. I always desire to speak respectfully of the President of the United States, but when the office-holder becomes a candidate for re-election it was a new thing for me to learn that one could not discuss his merits. I will not follow the fashion of his party, and call him Abe or even Old Abe [laughter], but I will refer to him as Captain Lincoln, asking to be commander of the ship of State. [Can't get it.] Speaking as a lawyer, he would say that Lincoln had filed a complaint against George B. McClellan. The latter gentleman had joined issue. At Chicago it had been decided that a trial take place, and I appeal to you jurymen to see that no disagreement take place so that no new trial be granted. The speaker remembered a large which he had seen some time ago, where an old man in the play was told as Lincoln might be told, that he had but an hour to live in which to confess his sins. [Laughter.] The old man answered that the time allowed him was not sufficient to seek repentance, so he might detain his neighbors for hours, days, and even weeks, if he were to attempt to enumerate the political sins of Abe Lincoln. [Groans and laughter.] Many were the charges to be brought against Captain Lincoln. First, he has lost his book of reckoning, then his bow-anchor, the Constitution he has allowed to go overboard—the crew is a bad one—he has upset a black bottle over his chart [uproarious laughter], and he has lost his rudder hold of the ship of state. Now what does McClellan offer? His ship has been newly fitted, copper bottomed, copper nailed, and, if you desire it, copper-headed. [Laughter.] Standing on his deck he speaks words of cheer, and says: "I stand, as I always will and as I have ever stood, for the Union, the Constitution, and the laws." [Cheers.] He stands there with a crew who have faith in him, with new rigging and new anchor. He does not go to his first mate, asking him to write him a proclamation; to his second, to make a speech; for him, to his third, to draft a law. We like McClellan because he always stood firm by his chart, his reckoning, and he who can navigate a personal ship can also sail a political one. There is one great and important reason why I support McClellan, that is, he has been able to govern himself. Through all the abuse and wrong which have been heaped upon him he never showed any signs of anger. Calmness is one of the attributes of statesmanship, and therefore, when we read that Lincoln recently in a stump address before some soldiers, had lost his temper, we cannot but feel that such a man is not fit to govern others. When a man loses his temper he generally is

getting the worst of the argument, so Lincoln is getting enraged because he sees the star of McClellan is in the ascendant and that the star of Lincoln is about to burst in aerolites over his head. An argument has been brought against McClellan for having arrested the Maryland Legislature. This could be answered by saying that the Republicans have been in the habit of making arbitrary arrests in places where there is no war raging, while McClellan made arrests in localities where battles were going on, and where it was positively necessary to prevent a greater evil and, beside, the order for the arrests alluded to had been drafted by one of the cabinet secretaries, so in one sense it came from the Administration. The issues of this campaign are to so shape themselves that the question of war and slavery will be practically dead. The war will be settled by the 4th of March, this is certain, because even our opponent, Mr. Lincoln, says so. There will then remain for the next President to reestablish the Constitution, the guarantees of free speech, free press, freedom of the ballot box, and the preservation of personal rights. Whom will you have to settle this. [Cries of McClellan.] If so you desire it, see that you elect it. [At this juncture an incident occurred which was fatal in its results and tended for the moment to cause great confusion. One of the calcium lights stationed near the speakers stand burst with immense report and for an instant scattered the assemblage in dismay, the impression being that a cannon had exploded. Soon, however, as the true state of things became known, the audience became reassured and the speaker continued. As it is, we understand that some four or five individuals near by were badly wounded. Mr. Hall continued further in his remarks and concluded with proposing three cheers for McClellan, which were given with a will.]

COL. J. MANSFIELD DAVIS

of the Harris Light Cavalry was next introduced. He said that the loyal citizens of New York had gathered together that night to ratify the action of the delegation of the Chicago Convention. He called upon the loyal citizens of New York, who had sent the choicest of her sons to fight this war, who had sent twenty more regiments in the beginning than Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward thought they needed, loyal because when the call for five hundred thousand more was made, they alone unasked and beforehand had filled the quota. Let Gov. Andrew go to Belgium and buy men to fill the quota of Massachusetts, or purchase negroes for the same purpose, they of New York had despised such action, and had filled their ranks with their own men. Other States might go down to South Carolina and purchase and beg negroes, New York had been and was ever ready to send forth her sons to fight the battles of the Union and the Constitution. Parties are represented not by platforms, but by men. You have demanded that George B. McClellan shall be your leader, and the Republican party have demanded that Lincoln should be their commander. Let us see who has fixed principles. Lincoln before his election told you that this Union could not exist a part free and a part slave. When he became President, he said they could exist together. He then says that we can never conquer the South without the negro to join us, and that the negro should be hereafter declared free, and that the people should be pledged to carry his freedom into effect. Every law has been swept away, and you have become the creatures of Abe Lincoln. Mr. Vallandigham was arrested for not one-tenth of what Mr. Greeley had said, and he was banished. And when Mr. Vallandigham, a felon, a convicted traitor, as he was called, told never to return, put his foot again in Ohio, no one dared or deemed it expedient to touch him, and such is law under Abe Lincoln. Our prisons groan with men who, without trial or law, have been cast in their dungeons to waste away their lives. The speaker then referred to the early life of General McClellan, the distinguished manner in which his talents displayed themselves, and referred to his great deeds in the Mexican war, and then the readiness with which he responded to the call of the Union when this war broke out, should not permit the arguments of speculators and contractors to influence them. They wanted a man who, if the brethren of the South said they wanted peace, would give them peace under the Constitution and the laws, and if the secessionists demanded war, he would be ready for them also. [Cheers.] The speaker continued further in his remarks, and concluded them amid much applause.

SPEECH OF COL. DAVIS

he said he had just returned from the Chicago Convention where he had the honor to be Secretary, and while there and on his way hither, he had delivered many speeches, and that he hoped to be excused, if, on this occasion, he should fall short of their expectations. [Cries of "go on."] The Chicago Convention, containing representatives from every loyal State in the Union, in their wisdom have selected a noble standard-bearer, a man as faithful in redeeming the Union as George Washington was in establishing it. [Cheers.] If Washington could be called the Father of his Country, he believed he might call McClellan the savior of the Union. Now for the first time he saw a ray of light beaming upon the country. And when he called the roll of members of the Chicago Convention and proclaimed that General George B. McClellan had been unanimously nominated he felt supremely happy. Abe Lincoln was the champion of the negro, while George B. McClellan belongs to the white man's party. He believes that 30,000,000 of whites are of more value than 4,000,000 of negroes. Let the negroes fight out their own salvation. When leading members of the South came to Niagara and asked to have a safe permit to Washington, to treat for an honorable reconciliation of affairs, Abraham the first, and thank God, Abe the last, slams the door against them, and says we will not talk of peace unless you free the negro. Suppose they are free, what shall we do with them? Feed them? Put them in Central Park to gaze upon, or support them on account of the high price of wool? [Laughter.] Our doctrine is, let them alone. Let them stay where they are, they are good enough there; and if it is a sin, it is not our sin. And when any Southern State wants to come back, let us receive it with open arms and say, return once more to us, and say nothing about the negro. He felt sorry that any man should love the negro better than they did the Union. He advised them to read the acceptance of George B. McClellan in to-morrow's or the day after's paper and all those devoted to the Union, the Constitution and the laws will there find everything they desire. They will there find the Democratic principles clearly elucidated. We have tried bullets and bayonets and nothing has come of them; but we believe what the tendering of the olive branch will effect. The speaker spoke much further and we are sorry that our space compels us to refrain from publishing more of his truly eloquent discourse, which was listened to with rapt attention by the audience, and he concluded with urging all to read the McClellan platform carefully, to review the merits of the respective candidates carefully, and then to deposit their ballots on the day of election, under the proud consciousness that it is a vote in favor of the support of the Union and the Constitution. Mr. Conrad Swackhammer next addressed the meeting, and spoke with much effect. He was frequently interrupted by the cheers of the multitude around. Mr. Lawrence of Rhode Island also made a few remarks at this stand, while Mr. H. H. Morange's speech of New York terminated the speeches at this stand. A vote of thanks having been tendered to the chairman of the meeting, the assemblage dispersed with cheers for McClellan and the Union.

STAND No. 5.

Was located directly opposite the church of the Puritans, facing Fifteenth street. Toward half-past seven o'clock the firing of cannon, rockets, etc., attracted a tolerably large concourse. The stand was hung with huge Chinese lanterns, bearing in glaring colors and different devices: "The Union must and shall be preserved," "McClellan and Pendleton," "The Union and Constitution," etc., etc. At eight o'clock a band of music was procured, and shortly after and the crowd surrounding the platform increased in numbers. When the proceedings were inaugurated, the speakers were enabled to address a large and appreciative audience.

At eight o'clock precisely the Committee appeared, took possession, and H. H. Morange called the meeting to order, and spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF H. H. MORANGE.

FELLOW CITIZENS: I have the pleasure to nominate for the position of Chairman the Hon. J. Romeyn Brodhead. I do not exaggerate the

importance of this assemblage, when I say that it is the most gigantic meeting ever assembled in this Square. You know the purpose for which this meeting has been called: to ratify the nomination of George B. McClellan and Hon. G. H. Pendleton. [Tremendous cheering.] Nor need I review the infamous course of Abraham Lincoln. [A voice—"Three groans for him;" which were given with a will.] You well recollect the spontaneous assemblage in 1861, when it was understood that this war was to be prosecuted for the re-establishment of the Union. Has that purpose been fulfilled? The strife has been waged to oppress our Southern brethren, and that by a man who had but one object in view: the subservency of his ends. The only way in which to restore the Union, is to elect G. B. McClellan and J. H. Pendleton. [Loud cheers.] I now take pleasure in introducing your chairman.

Mr. Romeyn then stepped forward and introduced, amid great enthusiasm, Thomas G. Miles, Esq., of Pennsylvania, who proceeded as follows:

SPEECH OF THOMAS J. MILES, ESQ., OF PHILADELPHIA.

MR. CHAIRMAN—My fellow-citizens of the Empire State: When first I had the honor to receive the invitation of your committee to be present and address you this evening, I believed that it would not be within my power to avail myself of the privilege, having contracted a cold on my return from Chicago, under which I am still suffering. But, as the time for holding your meeting approached, I could not restrain the desire to be present, as a listener, at least, to the words of encouragement which I knew would be spoken from these stands to animate the depressed heart, and it may be, to nerve the almost palsied arm of the once free and independent people of these Northern States of America. Never, since the morning of liberty dawned upon this once favored land, have any portion of our fellow-citizens assembled under auspices so solemn and important as those which claim your attention this night. For what purpose has this vast concourse of the freemen of New York and the adjacent States assembled here this evening? Is it to discuss the question of a tariff—the question of banks—the question in relation to the policy of distributing the proceeds of the public lands among the States—the question of the improvement of rivers and harbors by the general Government? No, no, my friends, alas! no. These were all regarded as important questions once. In the halcyon days of the Republic—in those good old days of "virtue, liberty and independence," these were the questions that were wont to engage the attention of the people when they assembled together for political discussion. Alas! they have lost their interest now. As when a great calamity casts its gloomy shadow over our individual household, all minor evils are forgotten, absorbed in the contemplation of the great impending evil, so this awful visitation, that, during the last four years has brooded like a hideous specter over our national household, has driven from our thoughts all minor considerations, until now the only inquiry worthy the consideration of an American freeman, is that which with palpitating heart and kindling eye, each Democrat is asking of his neighbor, *what can be done to rescue from the grasp of despotic power the priceless jewel of CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY.* While history records some instances of voluntary surrender of liberty by the people, its pages will be searched in vain for a parallel to that self-stultification, fanaticism, parizan prejudice, moral obtuseness, or from whatever cause it may arise, which at present induces so large a portion of the freemen of America, deliberately, hour by hour, to employ themselves in riveting the manacles of despotism upon their own free limbs. And yet, the rank and file of all political organizations in this country are honest and well meaning. The masses of the Republican are as anxious for the preservation of constitutional liberty as the masses of the Democratic party. The difference is in this: that while the Democratic masses are instructed in the true principles which underlie the superstructure of our Government, the masses of the Republican party are deceived, cajoled, misled by wily, unscrupulous demagogues, who tell them that there is a law higher than the Constitution of the United States—a law of sentiment, of religion—and that when this sentimental law conflicts with the fundamental law, to wit, the Constitution, the Constitution becomes subordinate to this law of philanthropy. Thus the

name of Washington, is made subordinate to the infamous "higher law" doctrine subscribed with the name of Seward. No wonder that the author of the "higher law" should also be the author of those now historical words addressed to Lord Lyons: "My Lord, I can touch a bell and order the arrest of a citizen of New York. Can the Queen of England do as much?" If Lord Lyons responded to this inquiry, he doubtless replied: "No; indeed she cannot. God forbid that she should!" The cardinal error of our opponents is in confounding the administration of the Government with the Government itself. We have had twenty-two administrations of the Government; but in all that time but one Government. To admit that the Administration is the Government, is to admit that the sovereign people surrender their sovereignty to the Administration, and that since the days of Washington we have been living under a long line of sovereign Administrations. The popular vaunt—the sovereign people—has been a shallow pretense—a cheat. I hold as an axiom that the Government of the United States is the will of the sovereign people, expressed through a written fundamental law, which we call the Constitution of the United States. That Constitution provides for its own administration, in the election of agents, with power to those agents to appoint subordinates; the duties of said officials, their terms of office and their salaries being specified and regulated by the Constitution. This is the Government of the United States, and whenever and by whomsoever a law is promulgated as a political dogma, to be regarded as superior to this written fundamental law the party or parties so offending are guilty of at least moral treason to the Government of the United States. Then I would ask by what authority does William H. Seward invoke the Constitution of the United States, prate of the Government, the Constitution, the flag and the Union, as in his recently delivered Auburn speech? I therefore arraign William H. Seward for treason against the Government of the United States, in his "higher law" and irrepressible conflict doctrines; and as one of the sovereign people I charge him with having accomplished more, in the promulgation of these damnable heresies, to bring our poor bleeding country to its present condition, than all the secessionists who are now found in open rebellion against its authority. The author of an erroneous, even though evil sentiment, when honestly entertained, may not be amenable to the charge of offending against the moral law—not so he who deliberately publishes error, with motives of gain or criminal lust of power. "Words are things," and just in proportion to the evil their utterance may accomplish, will their author be held responsible by the unerring judgment of posterity. Mr. Seward knew full well that this Government could not bear the strain of a sectional Presidential contest, based on the theory of the "irrepressible conflict" doctrine; but he thought to construct a party upon this plausible theory out of the debris of disrupted organizations, upon whose turbulent, ephemeral tide he might float into power, and then having reached the goal of his ambition, having become the occupant of the Presidential mansion, he could tyrannize the Republican party in order to save the Union—had

"The best laid schemes of mice and men, Gang'd up aglee."

He was tripped up at the eleventh hour by these Abolition secession coons—Grealey, Chase, Sumner, Wilson, Phillips, Wade, etc., etc., who understood the astute philosopher quite as well as he understood himself. They nominated one who, deficient in the mental vigor and ego of Mr. Seward, and largely imbued with his own pernicious doctrines, could be not to their wit to carry out the abolition of any even though the Union should be bro to atoms in the attempt. They nominated one who had declared secession do attract the floor of Congress as far back as 1846, to lead any portion of a people becoming dissatisfied with their existing form of government, had a right to withdraw from that government and establish another more suitable to the tastes. And who, at a later period, in his heated controversy with Dr. J. C. Douglas, declared that "this Government could not exist a slave and half free—the it must become free or all slave," in the face of the fact that the Government had never even from infancy colossal hostility, part free and part slave and it had

CON. BY ROBERT H. B.

CON. BY ROBERT H. B.

THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN.

Grand Turnout of the Brooklyn Democracy.

Meeting at the Academy of Music.

The Building Filled and Meetings in the Adjacent Streets.

Speech of Hon. Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland.

LINCOLN'S CRIMES AND FAILURES

Why he has not Restored and Cannot Restore the Union.

THE TRUE POLICY FOR THE NATION.

Statement of the Claims of McClellan upon the People.

1st. 2d. 3d.

One of the largest and most enthusiastic mass meetings of the campaign was held last evening at Brooklyn, in the Academy of Music, in front of it, and in the City Hall Park. The Academy of Music was filled with a most respectable audience, among whom were many ladies. The platform was occupied by large numbers of distinguished gentlemen. Outside, the whole street, from the Academy of Music to the City Hall, was crowded with thousands of people, and the waving of flags, and the almost innumerable banners and transparencies, the booming of cannon, the shouts of the people, the voices of speakers from several stands, made up a scene which in its effectiveness, magnificence and enthusiasm, has very seldom been witnessed in the City of Churches. The cars were on several occasions compelled to stop for a long time to await the passage of processions with banners, banners and transparencies.

Inside the Academy of Music D. D. Barnard, the president of the Central McClellan Association, presided. Resolutions honoring McClellan's letter, and expressing patriotic and fitting sentiments, were read by J. C. Douglas.

A splendid American flag, containing a portrait of McClellan and the words "McClellan for President," "Central McClellan Association," was let down from the ceiling over the stage, and was greeted with tremendous applause.

The chairman then introduced Hon. Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, who was received with immense cheering. He spoke as follows:-

Speech of Hon. Reverdy Johnson.
MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: The return which I am sure you will most appreciate that I make for the kindness of your reception (a kindness that I shall ever gratefully remember) is to proceed at once to the consideration of the topics that belong to the occasion. None more momentous were ever submitted to a people. They involve the destiny of the nation. Is liberty to survive? Is our nationality to be restored? Is our form of constitutional government to be preserved? These are the great issues in the presidential canvass, and it is to these that I propose to speak. I have said that the presidential canvass is momentous. They involve more than temporary prosperity.

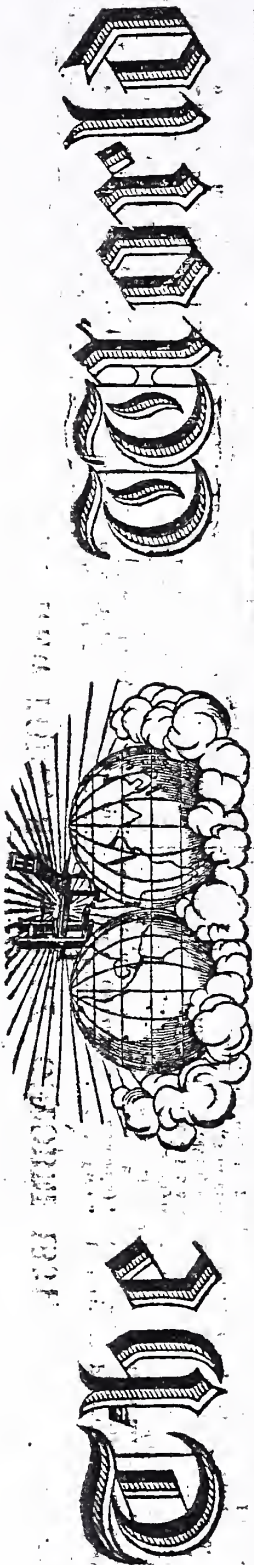
piness, no mere eclipse of national power, no mere abeyance of national existence, but our nation's life or death rests upon their solution. (Applause.) The annals of time since history's record commenced furnish us with no parallel. A people but recently among, if not the happiest on the globe, living under a government with a written constitution containing, in the plainest language, every guarantee for individual and social freedom that a sagacious and liberty-loving ancestry could devise, are now in the midst of a war more gigantic than civilized or savage man ever before knew—with hostile armies vaster than Xerxes marshaled—hearing in almost every wind that blows the strife of the battle field, the cheers of the victors, now on this side and now on that; the shrieks of the dying, the agonies of the wounded (brothers all); feeling the tottering condition of our country; its ruin at times apparently imminent; hope even, at periods, gone, then revived; a debt already fearful in amount and daily increasing at a more fearful rate, threatening that last calamity, national bankruptcy, we are now, after nearly four years of suffering and solicitude, called on to consider whether there is no remedy. Must there be, is there to be another like four years? ("No no!") And if there is, who is so mentally obtuse, or so blinded by partisan feeling, as not to see that political chaos will overtake us, and freedom, as the result in all human probability, be forever lost? (Applause.) Gentlemen, are these apprehensions chimerical or well founded? What the past four years have brought us to we know. The symbols of woe, seen in almost every household in the land, tell us what human misery they have produced. The bones of nearly half a million of men, the just price of our country, and who were but lately united to us by the strongest ties of affection, that now whiten hundreds of battle-fields, tell us of fearful slaughter. A funded debt of more than \$2,000,000,000, and an unfunded one of almost, if not quite, as many millions more, tell us of a land mortgaged to an amount that already shakes the nation's credit and fills every reflecting patriotic mind with the deepest solicitude.

And yet, with all this individual misery—this dreadful loss of life—this already crushing amount of debt, the present time, now nearly at the end of the four years, tells us that the Union so dear to us continues dissolved, and that a united spirit of hostility, where before there was division, animates our brethren of the rebellious states, and which if another like four years are continued will lead them to prefer annihilation to a return to their original allegiance—to prefer death to submission. If the fate designed and prepared for them by the policy, civil and military, of the years that have passed is to be theirs—a policy which leads directly to the loss of all their property, of all their past political freedom, and of all the securities for both guaranteed by the Constitution, to whose fold they are told we wish them to return. Social equality with their former slaves they are to admit. This is insisted by an influential, and, at this time, a controlling portion of the friends of Mr. Lincoln. The slaves, as proposed by the same party, are also to become the owners of the land, leaving to the white men and women only the occupation of daily laborers. A fate, like this, is infinitely worse than death. Obvious as in my judgment it is, that the rebellion was in the beginning without justification or excuse, (and I am sure you concur in that opinion,) it is not to be denied that its continuance and present strength are mainly to be referred to the condition to which the administration has reduced our southern brethren, and the still worse condition to which its threatened policy will reduce them; and, judging from the past, that policy is sure to be adopted if Mr. Lincoln is re-elected. That this is the conviction of a large part, and, it is believed, of a decided majority, of the people of the loyal states, no man who properly estimates their intelligence, or regards the signs of the times, can doubt. They think, as all the people of such states, including the President in the beginning, thought, that the sole purpose to be attained, and the sole authority to attain it under the Constitution by force of arms, was the restoration of the Union, the states returning to have all the rights that they before possessed. That this was the view of the President, and of the convention by whom he was originally nominated, is past all question. One of the resolutions of that body was "that the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends." (Applause.) And we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any state under any pretext as among the gravest of crimes." Nothing can be plainer than the meaning of this resolution. The adherence of the

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"Rights of each state to order and control its domestic institutions" refers, and can alone refer, to the right to retain domestic slavery. The denunciation of "the lawless invasion by armed force of the soil of any state" was intended to apply to the case of John Brown's invasion of Virginia. Mr. Lincoln in his inaugural of March, 1861, inserted this resolution at length, and declared that to him it would be "a law" and added "I now reiterate these sentiments" and "in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in any wise endangered by the now incoming administration." In the same state paper he had before said, quoting approvingly from one of his own speeches, "I have no purpose directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it now exists," and subjoined, "I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." At this time it will be remembered South Carolina had seceded. Her ordinance was passed on the 20th of the preceding December and several other states had followed her example. Mr. Lincoln, therefore, when he addressed the nation, March 1861, and announced the opinions I have given in his own words, knew that he would be compelled to resort to force to maintain the authority of the Union within these states. To do this he also knew would be the exercise of the war power conferred by the Constitution. And yet with that fact and knowledge he not only disclaimed all purpose to interfere with slavery in the states where it existed, but declared that he had "no lawful right to do so." (Applause.) The institution, therefore, of slavery, he, and the convention that nominated him, proclaimed it to be, "especially the right of each state to order and control," "according to its own judgment exclusively." He never pretended at that period that by virtue of the war or any other power known to the Constitution, he as President, had a right to abolish slavery. His present opinion in that regard, if he was sincere in March, 1861 (as no doubt he was), is manifestly an after-thought, or rather has been since, and against his own judgment, forced upon him by influences, which, unfortunately for the country, he was too feeble to resist. He could not, to use his own reported language at that time, afford to break with "the Gresham faction," and he never had had the time or manliness to do so since, although at one time he apparently thought that the safety of the nation required it. (Laughter.) These gentlemen constituted a power in his party. They are men of talents, of decided will, enthusiasts, factious, as I believe, but therefore honest on the subject of slavery, and their united force, Mr. Lincoln's feeble, reed-like firmness was as impotent to resist as a human arm, to arrest the march of the clouds. He saw, too, in the future, the prize of a continuing presidency. ("That's it") He doubtless saw, or thought he saw, as he should resist or submit to their importunities, its possession or its loss, and unable to raise himself to the elevation of considering duty performed as the only foundation for an honest fame, he surrendered the conviction which he had before so recently solemnly announced and agreed to attempt, and did attempt, not only indirectly but directly, "to interfere with the institution," in spite of his prior solemn declaration that he had "no lawful right to do so." "Lead us not into temptation" is an invocation so vital to man's safety as to have been especially suggested by Heaven itself. The temptation of ambition has often led its victim to slaughter hetaotombs of his race. It caused Napoleon to wade through blood and slaughter to a throne, and to seek the subjection of all surrounding nations, until under the retributive justice of God, sure to be sooner or later visited upon sinning and erring man, he died an exile and in wretchedness on a bleak and barren island of the ocean. And to compare great things with small (laughter), it has induced Mr. Lincoln to abandon his often recorded opinions with the hope to attain the by another lease of power, but for our salvation the same retributive justice is above us, destined in its own good time and that we trust is near at hand to send him to his home in Springfield a sadder and a wiser man. (Cheers.) I say he has changed his policy—that he has abandoned his opinion of his power. But this was not done at once. In the interval he often repeated and reiterated the views of his inaugural. It would detain you too long to specify each instance. A few will be sufficient.

1. In his message to Congress of the 6th of March, 1862 known as his communication message, after recommending to that body that they should pass a resolution that the United States ought to co-operate with the states by means of "provisional aid" in effecting the gradual abolition of slavery he expressly disavowed for the government any authority over the subject, except with state consent. His language is that his proposition "sets up no claim of a right by

federal authority to interfere with slavery within state limits, referring, as it does, to the absolute control of the subject in each case to the state and its people immediately interested. (Applause.)

2. The act of Congress of the 6th of August, '61, emancipated only the slaves of rebels employed in the rebellion, and submitted the decision of such cases exclusively to the courts. Major-General Fremont, on the 30th of that month, he being then in command in Missouri, by proclamation declared free all the slaves within the state. This, as soon as it came to his knowledge he disapproved, and declared it in a formal order of the 11th of September to be void as far as it transcended the provision of the act of Congress. And in a letter of Mr. Joseph Holt to the President, of the 22d of the month, that gentleman being alarmed for the effect of Fremont's order, states that "the act of Congress was believed to embody the conservative policy of your administration." This statement Mr. Lincoln never denied.

3. On the 9th of May, 1862, Major-General Hunter, military commander of the department of the South, embracing Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, by an order of that date declared all slaves within such states free. On the 19th of the month, even before he was officially advised of the measure, Mr. Lincoln, by proclamation, declared the same, "whether genuine or false," to be "altogether void." In neither of these instances is there the slightest intimation of a change of opinion by Mr. Lincoln either on the question of policy or of power. As to both, as far as we know then, or know now, if we do him the justice to believe in his frankness and sincerity, he then entertained the same opinion that he announced in his inaugural. (Applause.)

4. But the evidence of this does not stop here. Congress and the President declared their views of policy and power. On the 22d of July, 1862, Mr. Crittenden proposed, in the House of Representatives a resolution which after truly stating that the war was "forced upon the country by the disunionists" of the southern states, declared that it "is not waged on (our) part in any spirit of oppression or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or the established institution of these states (the seceded), but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and the rights of the several states unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease. (Cheers.) In the House only two votes were cast against it, and in the Senate but one Republican vote, and it was at once and without hesitation approved by the President. No pretense here suggested that slavery was to be abolished, or that any of the rights of the states in regard to it were to be interfered with. On the contrary, that it was our duty to carry on the war then raging, as long, and only as long as it should be necessary to "defend and maintain the supremacy of the constitution," and that the Union restored, "all the rights of the several states" would remain unimpaired. This conservative and constitutional policy was, soon after, and almost fatally, not only abandoned, but totally reversed. Emancipation proclamations, under a claim of executive war power—the first on the 22d of September, in the same year, and the second on the 1st of the succeeding January—were put forth. In the last, all slaves in certain states, or parts of states, were declared free. Whether the territory or the slaves should fall within the military occupation of the United States or not—thus totally disregarding his declarations as to his want of power, made at the very moment of taking his official oath—forgetting that oath and his then solemnly announced opinion, he now avers his sincere belief to be that the measure referred to was "warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity." Military necessity! (Laughter.) What power, as construed by the President and by some of his generals, does it not comprise? What restraints upon executive power does it not remove? How absolutely does it become its own sole restraint? How perfectly does it vest in the President all authority, executive, legislative, and judicial? Its only limitation is the necessity out of which it springs, and the sole judge of that necessity is the President. How alarming and how palpably absurd is the doctrine, and yet it is upon that, and upon that alone, that the President rests his proclamations of September and January. See the outrageous results to which it leads. The President thinks that the rebellion cannot be suppressed if Congress is permitted to interfere. He thinks it cannot be done if courts or judges, though acting under the authority of law, are suffered to intervene their functions. It being his sworn duty to suppress the rebellion, and whatever in his judgment becomes necessary to that end constitutes a case of military necessity. He dispenses Congress, closes courts, imprisons judges. Who is so blind as not to see that this doctrine rests on the President's unrestricted and absolute power,

and not only as concerns the general government, but those of the states transforms him from an officer with carefully limited authority, delegated by the Constitution, into a mere autocrat. The states elect members of the House of Representatives. Senators are chosen by their legislatures. A legislature loyal in an executive sense, that is, friendly to the President—the modern constitutional test of loyalty—must be elected. Senators of a like character must be chosen. The executive arm may be palsied by different results, and its power to extinguish the rebellion enfeebled, if not destroyed. This presents a case of military necessity. The freedom of election, therefore, in these states must be assailed—soldiers must be mustered around the polls—no vote must be cast, and none such is to be permitted, but for the President's candidates—this as we know to a great extent has already been shamelessly done in the case of the late elections in Maryland and Kentucky. ("That's so." Applause.) The legislature is elected and it is feared that an enemy of the administration will be chosen senator, this must be prevented, and the members are therefore arrested or under fear of imprisonment are forced to vote for the President's choice. It is a case of military necessity. The press criticises with frankness but with truth and for the interest and safety of the country and as its duty, the conduct of the President. This tends he thinks to weaken and embarrass him. It must be stopped, military necessity demands it and it is done. Papers are suppressed and editors arrested and imprisoned. Ministers of the gospel pray as in their consciences they believe to be right. They are supposed thereby to weaken the President's arm. It is a case of military necessity, and they are arrested, confined, and their churches closed and handed over to some more pliant pastors. ("Shame, shame.") These are no mere hypothesis—no mere fancy sketches. We know that such things have occurred in Missouri, Indiana, West Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and New-York; and yet even to question the legality, much less to denounce them in words that burn—a patriotic, almost a holy duty—is, by some of the supporters of the President, deemed disloyal, (derisive laughter,) and abuse, scurrilous abuse, is heaped upon all who have the manliness to do so. And why, in doing so, but maintain their inherited freedom. No warrant for such a doctrine is to be found in the Constitution; no military necessity is there mentioned as the source of power, or mentioned at all; no provision except in relation to the writ of *habeas corpus* (cheers) is there to be found giving the authority to remove, or to suspend under any circumstances whatever, the express guarantees which it contains of personal and political liberty, state sovereignty, and the freedom of religion and of the press. But Mr. Lincoln and his advisers have, nevertheless, discovered what no man before ever dreamed of, that there exists as an independent source of executive power, either in the Constitution or outside of it, in time of war a military necessity which gives the President as long as such necessity exists—and of its continuance to be the exclusive judge—the right to disregard and extinguish the expressly and exclusively delegated powers of Congress, courts, and judges; the reserved rights and powers of the states, the guaranteed privileges of the citizen, the freedom of religion and the press, all, all are to succumb to executive power in time of war, civil or national, on the ground of military necessity. Wise and patriotic men have heretofore filled the office of President, and have been cabinet ministers during the long interval between Washington and Mr. Lincoln's accession to power. A formidable insurrection, and two foreign wars have occurred, yet no one ever even suggested that any necessity could arise, which would not merely be a cumulative of power in the President but inconsistent with, and destructive of those granted by the Constitution to the other departments of the government and of the securities of individual liberty which it contains. (Applause.) The first article of the amendment to the Constitution proposed by Congress on the 4th of March, 1789, with a view "to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers," declares that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the rights of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the government for a redress of grievances." How futile the provision, if the doctrines of the present day are to be maintained! In a purer period of the republic, however, it was found to be most potential. In 1798 the alien and sedition law was passed. The people were instantly aroused, and demanded, and at the earliest moment effected its repeal. The Constitution was thus vindicated, and its violation rebuked by an almost universal public opinion, expressed through a free ballot-box. If, in that day, Mr. Adams had surrounded

one voting precinct with armed soldiers, and there had been no other remedy with the freedom of the time his life would not have been worth a day's purchase. The friends of our government who in that age never believed that there could be any security for its continuance except in the preservation of all the guarantees the Constitution contained, and doubtless supposed that no further attempt would be made to violate them. How mistaken! Military necessity had not then asserted its function. Years elapsed, the people and the states enjoying perfect freedom under the Constitution. Mr. Lincoln's administration begins, and soon afterward this monstrous and tyrannical doctrine is announced, and from time to time has been despotically enforced. It is now virtually claimed that the amendment referred to was designed only to limit congressional, and not executive power. It is true that Congress is the department alone mentioned in it; but it was because neither that body, nor the people, even dreamed that any other department would attempt to exert the powers prohibited. (Applause.) Had a suggestion to that effect been made at that time, it would have been received but with ridicule or contempt. (Applause.) And yet at this day, under the pretext of military necessity, of which the President is the sole judge, a power is involved to prohibit the free exercise of religion to abridge the freedom of speech. The right to assemble and petition for a redress of grievances. And, as we have seen, Mr. Lincoln has done nearly all of these wrongs. In so doing it is hoped that he has not been himself influenced by a desire to trample upon the rights of the citizen, but has merely yielded to the stronger will of others, or to the temptation, which for the past two years he has evidently had before him of securing a re-election. In the former days of the government, when the political atmosphere took its hue from the complexion of the patriot-sages of the Revolution—when love of country and of freedom were the animating principles of every heart, it may be confidently said that if such a pretension and such conduct had been claimed and pursued even by Washington, (cheers,) (I beg pardon of his memory for the supposition,) deeply seated as he was in the affections of his countrymen, it would have excited a feeling of indignation throughout the land, so universal and so strong, that he would have lost his place in their hearts, and would have shaken even his firmness and rendered his re-election impossible. Constitutional liberty the men of that day esteemed so priceless that they would have surrendered Washington rather than have sanctioned such gross depuratures from it. No man can doubt this who is familiar with their history. But to return to Mr. Lincoln's course in regard to slavery. Now that the day of election approaches, he goes a rifle shot even beyond the measures of his emancipation proclamations. In these to put the rebellion down by means of emancipation was his sole avowed object. That accomplished, no matter when or by what means, the military necessity ceasing, slavery, except so far as it might be then effected, was to remain. His resort to the measure, as declared in his final proclamation, was solely, as he said, because he esteemed it "a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing" the rebellion. That object attained, emancipation was to terminate. Nor did the measure embrace all of the seceded states, or either of the loyal slave states. Of the former, part of Louisiana, of Virginia, and the whole of West Virginia were excepted. With the rebellion ended slavery was to continue in these excepted localities and also in Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland. But now what are we told? Under an authority which Mr. Greeley supposed was amply sufficient, he agreed with Messrs. Clay and Holcomb to obtain a permit for them to go to and return from Washington, with a view to some peace negotiation. That Mr. Lincoln in the first instance consented to grant such a permit no one can doubt who believes in Mr. Greeley's veracity. Mr. Lincoln, however, on the 8th of July last, withdrew his consent by sending to that gentleman to be exhibited to Messrs. Clay and Holcomb, a withdrawal of his consent in the rather discourteous and offensive form of an address "To whom it may concern." In this paper he refuses to allow those gentlemen, or any other, to repair to Washington in order to negotiate a peace, except upon a preliminary understanding and condition that such peace is not only to embrace "the integrity of the whole Union," but "the abandonment of slavery," and that the negotiations are to come "by an authority that can control the armies now at war with the United States." To treat of peace, even to speak of peace with a view to amiable results with, or to any parties from the seceded states, or force any one of such states is here declared to be wholly inadvisable, and is directly refused unless it is first stipulated, that in every one of such states slavery is to be abandoned. He, therefore, virtually proclaims to the citizens of those states, "I know you have had the

institution of slavery among you—some of you before, and all of you continuously since the Constitution was adopted, and have held it unquestioned—I know that that instrument guarantees it to you. In my inaugural message, I so said. I there declared that what is known as the fugitive clause in the Constitution "was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves, and the intention of the law givers is the law," and that I was about to take an oath that would bind me to enforce it, and that I intended to enforce it. Whether truly or not, I know that you think the institution indispensable to our industry and to the enjoyment of your domestic life. I know that the vast majority of you are at war with the United States only because you think it in danger. It is also, I know, true that I have said that I have neither the inclination nor the power to interfere with it—and it is so far true that I have done so, but to a limited extent, and as a necessary war measure, and have even expressed a doubt whether in going to that extent I have not transgressed my authority. It is true that Congress proclaimed that the sole design of the war on the part of the United States was the suppression of the rebellion, and that that accomplished, all of your rights, including that of slavery, would remain to you. It is true that on the 22d of August, 1862, in a letter to Mr. Greeley, I declared that my "paramount object was the restoration of the Union, and not the safety or destruction of slavery. That if I could save the Union without freeing the slaves I would do it; that if I could save it by freeing them all I would do it; or, if by freeing a portion and leaving others alone, I would do that—my sole purpose being to save the Union, irrespective of the question of slavery. It is true that your land and mine is filled with mourning; that your fields are drenched with our kind blood; that the war continues to be a frightful drain upon the resources, credit, and lives of both sections. It is true that the vast and horrid spectacle of fraternal strife we are exhibiting shocks the Christian sentiment of the world. It is true that it is now being carried on by both sides in disregard of all civilized rules of warfare. All these things, and even worse, I know to be true, and that they will be dreadfully augmented, to our mutual ruin, if the strife is not terminated; yet I tell you that I will not even listen to any proposition to terminate it that is not preceded by an assent, on your part, to abandon slavery."

Was ever man so inconsistent with himself? Was there ever, in any war, a refusal to treat for peace—for arresting the shedding of blood, above all the shedding of blood by brother of brother? (Cheers.) Under all these circumstances could there be a refusal to make, so reckless, so inhumane, so barbarous? Thank God, Mr. Lincoln will not always be our President. Thank God, if we are now true to ourselves, his lease of power is nearly expired. Thank God, that a change of men and measures seems to be near at hand, and that, that occurring, no such unexampled, unconstitutional, inhuman and barbarous refusal will dishonor the government. Measures, humane and constitutional, will then be adopted, which, to the vindication of our good name, will soon lead to a restoration of the Union, to the gathering together of all the states under one government, under one grand political life of whose arch Pennsylvania is from the first will again form the "Keystone." She has recently demonstrated that that is her firm, her settled purpose. We know that Mr. Lincoln's unconstitutional condition will not then be exacted as an indispensable one to peace. We know that it has been strongly censured by many of his decided supporters. No one dislikes slavery more than I do. No one would rejoice more to see it constitutionally abolished. No one more devoutly wishes to see the whole of the race of man free. (Applause.) Nor is any one more persuaded that the extinction of the institution would result advantageously to all, and especially white men, and the white men of the South. But I am not authorized, my oath frequently taken to support the Constitution tells me that I cannot lend my aid toward the continuance of this war until the states in rebellion consent to abandon slavery, if it can be terminated, and the Union restored by other means. I would have slavery abolished by constitutional amendment or by state action. But if neither is done I am glad to believe, the Union restored, that the institution cannot for many years longer exist. The present war, brought on through the ambition and the arts of comparatively a very few southern men, aided by the course of a few northern men, has given it a death-blow—certainly has destroyed its credit, of its former political power. Its spread beyond what will be its limits when the Union is restored will be impossible. Its fate, therefore, is doomed. Even if the mild but powerful influence of our Christian disapprobation shall fail to terminate it, a conviction which must soon fasten itself upon the mind

of the South of the superiority of free over slave labor will lead to that result. Its advocates were impressed with the opinion that the world was so interested in the peculiar products of the South which could not be produced, as they asserted, but by slave labor; that however it might shake the institution it would yield its opinion to its love of gain and rush at once to the support of the rebellion, although its government was shamelessly announced to have for its very corner stone human slavery. Sad, indeed, has been their disappointment. They are yet unrecognized. Their agents, though assuming the part of ambassadors, have been seen during the past four years hovering around the purchases of St. James and St. Cloud in vain, while their substitutes have been uselessly seeking, through the portion of the foreign press found willing to harbor conscience for gold, to bring recognition about, but all has been in vain. The rebel government still stands alone among the family of nations. No single one, small or great, will admit it to fellowship. Cotton, the rebels find, is not king. (Cheers.) Nor in this age of the world can mere material wealth ever be king. Law, order, virtue, duty, performed, oaths observed, manly industry and enterprise, liberty, and the inventive genius which ever goes hand and hand with her, filling the land and ocean with their triumphs, and deterred restoration of a people to stand by their nation's honor and life—there will ever be the king that a virtuous and Christian world will alone recognize. (Loud cheering.)

Gentlemen, so far I have spoken to you of the ascertained and results of Mr. Lincoln's presidency. Let us now see what countervailing benefits have attended it. What progress has been made toward the restoration of the Union, the object declared by the convention that nominated him, by Congress, and by himself, to be the sole object of the war.

Has he effected the return to the Union of a single state? Not one. Has he acquired the confidence and won the affections of the people of any one state, or even part of a state? ("No, no.") We know he has not. His policy made that impossible. Has he obtained a permanent and safe foothold even in any portion of any single state? Has he even retained possession of portions once conquered by our brave army and navy? He has not. To our dishonor he it said, he has not. Union men, strong in their attachment to the nation's flag, have been seen to gather around it shedding tears of joy at the belief that they would be under its permanent protection—have, in more instances than one, been left, by its withdrawal to the cruelties of the merciless foe. ("That's so.") Over and over again has this occurred in Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Alabama, Texas, and Virginia. (Applause.) In portions of Arkansas and Louisiana, attempts that would be ludicrous but for the gravity and importance of the principles involved, have been made to organize state governments by force of the bayonet, and, in a great measure, by the votes of soldiers, and almost without within the sound of rebel guns. Under the lead of an attaché of the President, an effort was made to the same end in Florida, that was followed by the defeat of our arms and the sacrifice of thousands of lives of our soldiers. ("Shame!")

A proclamation of amnesty and for the reorganization of the states, was issued by the President, and received only with derision and contempt by the rebels. And on its face it was so anti-republican and so tended to increase Mr. Lincoln's power and subvert his re-election, that Congress at its recent session, attempted to defeat its legislation, an attempt which he frustrated by refusing to sanction it, for which he soon after was received a deserved and severe official rebuke from Messrs. Wade and Davis as chairman respectively, of the committees of the House, who had had the charge of the law gentlemen of ability, perfectly loyal and inflexible remembrance of his party.

Arkansas, under the authority of his amendment, went through the form of a state organization, elected a legislature, appointed a governor, and chose two United States senators. These last repaired to Washington, applied their oaths, but were denied them by a vote nearly unanimous. Louisiana has since pursued, or is about to pursue, the same course, and is sure to meet with the same fate and a like fate will attend Tennessee. Neither Andrew Johnson, Abraham Lincoln, nor the two united, can control the Senate of the United States. (Applause.)

Has the President succeeded in destroying the armed forces of the rebels? The country, to its cost and sorrow and mortification, knows that he has not. (Applause.) An army that, from first to last, during the past six months numbered more than three hundred thousand men, led by a leader standing high in the confidence of the President, has fled to disperse, much less to destroy, the forces of General Lee, and is

now apparently higher from the capture of Richmond, the object of the campaign than McClellan (loud cheers) was when, with the aid of Fitz John Porter (cheers), and other gallant officers, now dismissed or in

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SPEECH OF HON. REVERDY JOHNSON.

Continued from the First Page.

exist because they were his friends, on the 1st of July, '62, he fought the battle of Manassas Hill, achieving a victory ascribed to military mastery, and when, in his power, ever and over again, for reinforcements had been answered as they might have been but for a cowardly flight, he would have been able to have followed it up the next day or the following day with the capture of Richmond. This he could have done if he had had but 20,000 additional troops. Not an officer on the field who witnessed the demoralizing effect upon the foe of that victory, then, or now, doubts this. (Loud applause.) Three cheers for McClellan.)

Has the President protected the 10,000 soldiers who have always held the capital in safety? ("No, no.") Here again we know he has not. Three times have Pennsylvania and Maryland been invaded—three times the capital city of each been rescued from the ravages of the foe by the glorious Army of the Potomac, organized by McClellan, (cheers) and made irresistible when success is possible, if properly led. Upon the first occasion, under the command of General McClellan, on the second, of Meade. On the first the capital was in the most imminent peril, and no one realized it more than the President. The only hope of saving it was through the Army of the Potomac. Pope's incompetency had caused such parts of it as had been under his command to be defeated, and they had returned to Washington dispirited and disorganized. It was obvious to the President that further disaster, even the capture of the capital, was inevitable, unless the army could be brought again under the almost magic influence of that skilled chief. And in despair he was solicited to take command, and, if possible, save Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Washington. Governed, as ever, by patriotic and unselfish motives in the presence of his country's honor and danger forgetting the wrongs that had been done him by the President, and trusting to renewed pledges of confidence and support, he cheerfully assented, and as was anticipated by those who knew the troops, their spirits instantly revived—discipline took the place of confusion, and confidence of despair. McClellan at the earliest moment afterward, as night was setting in, led them from the presence of an affrighted President and Cabinet amid the cheers of his men that made the very air vocal with their sound, and were received as the certain harbinger of a coming victory. (Tremendous cheers.) On the second occasion Meade, now honored throughout the land, led them to another glorious victory, again resulting in the rescue of Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, and causing the heart of the administration to beat without alarm. (Applause.) On the first occasion, the exigency over, Washington rescued, the President and cabinet in safety, the hostility to McClellan was revived. Making his army on the hard-earned battlefield of Antietam (applause), waiting for blankets to cover them, and for shoes to protect their bleeding feet, that he might better go in pursuit of the foe, complaints were first whispered, then loudly proclaimed, in administration circles, and yet the President was afraid of moving to strike. He permitted him to lead his troops across the Potomac to march in search of the enemy, and just as he was about to engage in battle with every prospect of success, he was most discouragingly deprived of his command, and ordered to hand it over to General Burnside. What followed—disaster. The army was defeated with fearful slaughter, and nothing gained. Burnside then asked to be relieved, and requested that Hooker be dismissed the service for having, as he alleged, been guilty of a gross violation of orders. The President, as Burnside testified before the Committee on the Conduct of the War, said that it ought and should be done, but on the next day, instead of doing so, he placed that officer in command of the army, and soon after came the yet more disastrous and almost fatal defeat of Chancellorsville. But to proceed. The perils of the invasions into Maryland and Pennsylvania, from which they were so nobly rescued by McClellan and Meade and the Army of the Potomac, it was supposed would be a sufficient warning to induce the President to guard against their repetition. It was thought that he would now action the advice of McClellan—advice given early in his command, but rejected by General Halleck even with a discourteous sneer—and erect fortifications on the bar of the Potomac. Had this been done, the last invasion of those states could not have occurred. But it was not

done. All, as at first, was left unguarded. Incompetent officers (whose incompetency had been before remonstrated) were from time to time placed in command in that locality, and as all reasonable men in and out of the army anticipated, nothing but disaster ensued.

1. The defeat at Winchester, the flight of the army, and the loss of millions and millions of dollars' worth of war material.

2. A third invasion. The flourishing town of Chambersburg was given to the flames in retaliation, as it was said, (a barbarous excuse) for outrages of a like description before perpetrated and without rebuke by a general of the President's selection.

3. Baltimore and Washington were once more placed in imminent peril. The sound of the enemy's guns almost vibrated through the rooms of the White House. Millions of dollars would not indemnify our citizens for the losses sustained by that invasion. And no thing is more absolutely true, than that it is to be ascribed exclusively to the gross neglect of a President who is now being supported for reelection. As soon as this last effort of the enemy came to the knowledge of General Grant, that officer took steps to prevent further disaster. Political and abolition generals were not called by him. They were relieved, and the army placed in charge of a young and accomplished officer, and the result has been that the valley of Virginia, that had before been so often the scene of our disaster, at once became the scene of glorious victories—the last, to him especially, the most glorious—that have won for the youthful Sheridan, his officers, and men an ever-enduring fame. (Loud cheering.) How different are these victories and that recently achieved at Mobile by the unsurpassed skill and daring of Farragut and his command (cheers) received by the friends of McClellan, and the supporters of Mr. Lincoln. Whilst we had them with joy as exhibitions of the valor and triumph of our arms and as tending to the defeat of the rebellion and the restoration of the Union, they seem chiefly to value them for their supposed bearing on the presidential contest. They are laboring for the man, Mr. Lincoln. We are for the country and the integrity of institutions that have made it what it recently was, the freest and one of the happiest in the world. (Cheers.) We support McClellan because judging from his antecedents we feel assured that he will maintain those institutions and restore the Union, to use his own words "at all hazards." (Loud cheers.)

But to proceed. What success has Mr. Lincoln achieved for us on the ocean? His failure there is, if possible, more complete and disheartening than his failure on the land. Our commercial marine, that before his inauguration covered every sea, proudly sailing unchallenged under the safeguard of the stars and stripes, is now almost wholly driven from that domain. ("That's true.") More than one thousand of our ships we have been compelled to sell to foreigners because our flag furnished no protection, but on the contrary is but the incentive to the pirate's torch. They are now traversing the ocean with American freemen and property under the shelter of foreign banners. Some four or five small piratical cruisers have been permitted to give to the flames hundreds of our vessels, and in some instances on our own coast and almost within sight of our cities. The insurance against war risk is now as high if not higher, than it was in the war with England of 1812, and much higher than in that with Mexico of 1846. What apology can be offered for this? No government ever possessed more noble or more accomplished naval officers, or braver or more skillful seamen. Nor was any supplied with such an unlimited amount of treasure to increase its naval efficiency. Millions upon millions have been expended for that purpose, and yet our merchants, to save their ships from destruction, or to have them lie idle in our harbors, have been forced to dispose of them to aliens. I have said that our officers and men were brave and skillful. (Cheers.) Is it not so? ("Yes, Yes.") When in the annals of naval warfare were these qualities more strikingly exhibited than in Dupont's victory at Hilton Head; (cheers.) Rogers's capture of the Albatross (cheers); Winslow's destruction of the Alabama (loud cheers); Porter's command of the Western Squadron, or Farragut's success at New Orleans (cheers); his entire progress on the Mississippi, and his recent and, it is possible, yet more glorious reinforcement at Mobile Bay, (loud cheers.) We know, too, that our ships' officers, as intelligent and enterprising as any in the world, have over and over again solicited the government to suffer them to fit out vessels to protect themselves, and save the nation from the dishonor of being driven from the ocean. But the application was in vain. The few successful ones who could easily have been captured or destroyed if the request of the government had been granted, have been suffered with almost perfect impunity to roam the seas, and cut very roundly, and endanger our ships to destruction, tilt our com-

mercial marine has literally almost ceased to exist.

I have thus placed before you grounds enough for opposing Mr. Lincoln's reelection. And among one or two that I have thus far omitted to notice, let me briefly recapitulate them. In the first place, where the courts were open and the administration of justice was unobscured, he was imprisoned or suffered to be imprisoned, thousands of citizens without explanation; detained years for months, refusing to bring them to trial before any tribunal, and then discharged them without redress. He has suffered his agents to suppress hundreds of newspapers in the same place, for no other imaginable reason than because they published articles denouncing his administration. In eighty-five instances it is ascertained that this was done by his own immediate order or subsequent approval. He has suffered charges to be closed, and then persons to be arrested and imprisoned only because they did not pray specially for him. He has suffered to be issued and enforced, and in Kentucky and Maryland directly approved, orders under which the military grasped interference with the freedom of elections. He has failed to restore to the Union a single state or a material part of any state that was in rebellion on his accession to power. He has constantly, to the incalculable injury of the country, appointed and kept in important commands officers who were grossly incompetent. He has interfered with most calamitous results, with our military campaigns. He has suffered our commercial marine to be driven from the ocean. He has proscribed officers of admitted ability and perfect patriotism, because they were supposed to be friendly to McClellan; (cheers.) and not to approve his policy or conduct. He has violated the Constitution by his abolition proclamations, notwithstanding his solemn promise to the contrary. He has violated it by his amnesty proclamation, and by his refusing his assent to a law passed by the last Congress to guard against consequences which his friends correctly thought to be most perilous as well as illegal. He has failed to protect the loyal states, and by such failure subjected them at three several periods to the most destructive invasions; He has suffered the capital itself to be placed at three different periods in the greatest peril. He has, by his policy and conduct, so injured us in the estimation of France, that Napoleon has seized into his hands unquestioned, the destinies of a neighboring republic, and placed on a throne of his own creation, a monarch belonging to the most despotic family of Europe; and in this he has abandoned the uniform policy of his predecessors. In palpable violation of law and the recorded opinions of Washington, Jefferson, Clay, and every attorney-general to whom the question was submitted, and to the great danger of every foreigner amongst us, whether naturalized or not, without trial or giving an opportunity for trial, in the case of Arguella, on the request of a Spanish subordinate, he has delivered him to the tender mercies of that official. He has caused the currency of the country to become in a great measure valueless, and what is, if possible, still worse than all, where there was division in the South he has produced unanimity, and where there was unanimity in the North he has produced division. ("That's so," applause.) And lastly, he is seeking a reelection by the most unscrupulous and unexampled abuse of patronage and power.

Do not all these things demonstrate his fitness for the Presidency? (Applause.) The most that any of his friends have said as to his fitness is that he is honest, as if honesty was a rare attribute of the American character. (Laughter.) But his possession of that quality is not admitted by all of his supporters. Messrs. Wade and Davis, as chairmen of two committees of Congress, in their manifesto of the 5th of August last, charge him with having committed (I use their own words) a "studied outrage on the legislative authority of the people"—with having "exercised a dictatorial usurpation in Louisiana"—as holding, by his defeat of the bill they refer to, the electoral votes of the rebel states at the dictation of his personal ambition, and that his conduct in this respect may cause "civil war for the presidency." If Mr. Lincoln is a wise man, he cannot but see that these charges are well founded, and if he does as he perseveres in them, what has he of honesty? Is he not satisfied with the blood now shed, and being shed, in the Southern States? For the prize of the presidency, is he willing to extend the area of the fraternal slaughter? His associate in the Baltimore nomination, by his recent military order relative to the election in Tennessee, plainly shows what his objects are. Under that criterion electors can be chosen who will not support the President and himself. Has Mr. Lincoln repudiated the order? Has he rebuked its author? If he has done either, the country is not advised of it. On the contrary, his treatment the other day of a committee from that state, who handed him a respectful but conclusive protest against

...soliciting his interference, shows that, to accomplish his selfish purpose of a re-election, he means to avail himself of it, and that his purpose is so earnest that it caused him to forget that a President of the United States is bound at all times to listen to the complaints of any portion of the people, and to listen as a gentleman. (Loud cheers.)

And yet so palpable is the usurpation of that order that two of the most respectable of—the journals of his party (note have approved of it) have denounced it in no measured terms—the Springfield Republican, of Mrs. Schuchet's, and the New-York Commercial Advertiser. In speaking of it the former says: "He (Governor Johnson) has no more right to require an oath against the Chicago platform than one against the Assembly's catechism as a condition of voting in Tennessee. It is impossible to say one word in justification, or even in palliation of it." And the latter, quoting the above, approvingly adds: "Mr. Lincoln lacks the courage, even if he had the disposition, to repudiate the conduct of his associate on the ticket and to unloose the fettered ballot in Tennessee." And finally, Messrs. Wade and Davis state: "If electors for President be allowed to be chosen" in states so organized, a "simster light will be cast on the motives which induced the President to hold for naught the will of Congress rather than" governments of his creator. If these censures are just (and what fair mind can question them?) and there was nothing more tending to the same result, then even the quality of honesty of purpose, the only one that any of his friends pretend to claim for him, has no foundation in fact. (Applause.) But there is other matter. Look to the degrading fast of the unblushing manner in which he is using his power and patronage to secure the presidency. Not an officer of the government, from the highest to the lowest—not a contractor, great or small, who is not, with his knowledge and authority expressed or implied, levied upon pecuniarily to accomplish that end. Even the medical department, whose sole duty it should be to minister to the wants of the sick and wounded soldier, and whose compensation is barely sufficient to afford support, are mulcted for the same purpose? Who does not know that conduct like this, in the early and pure days of the republic, would not only have been denounced by a universal and indignant public sentiment, but have been punished by impeachment and dismissal from office. (Loud applause.) And it is new not only degrading us in our own eyes, but in those of the enlightened world. I might proceed and give instances almost without number of the same description, but my heart fails me. I trust, for our country's safety and honor, that ere long the memory of all these disparaging and degrading acts will be lost amidst the general joy of a retired Union—a renewed prosperity, and an honest and elevated public opinion. But to that end there must be change, and here, leaving Mr. Lincoln, I proceed to a far more agreeable subject. (Laughter.)

Can we not effect a change? ("We will.") Is our nation as far gone in its progress to ruin, in which it is being led, that its fate cannot be arrested? I confidently think that it is in our power to arrest it. We have lost hundreds of thousands of our best men North and South. We have had incited in the minds of the people dangerous, political heresies. We have had the political atmosphere tainted by dishonest doctrine and practice. We have contracted a debt of enormous amount. We are in a war of unparalleled magnitude—we have by a suicidal policy produced a state of things between the two nations of unexampled animosity. But yet all is not lost. Our resources are still abundant; our energies as great as ever; our morality, though now in a measure dormant, as pure as was that of our fathers; and in both nations, whatever may now meet the eye, there is at heart, it cannot be otherwise, as deep an affection for the Union. A common pride in its past glories, achieved by common valor, a fond reverence for the memories of a great common ancestry, Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill, Saratoga, and Yorktown (loud cheers), these all appeal to us in one united voice to stand together again as our fathers stood, shoulder to shoulder, and heart to heart, and to live as they lived, and die as they died, the inheritors of a common freedom, protected by a common government, and glorying in the same great and hallowed standard that covered and cheered them in our days of trial, and blessed them with its aid and starry influence in the last moments of their glory on earth. How, then, is this reunion of happiness and destiny to be attained? I say, in the sincerity with which human lips ever spoke, that I believe they can be attained by the election of McClellan. (Cheers.) He has the capacity, the patriotism, and the virtue which the great task requires. (Loud cheers.)

Gentlemen, I will not insult you or him by stopping to refute in detail the numerous false and calumnious accusations of which, since his nomination, he has been the object. He has been charged with actual treason—with treasonably sympathizing with our southern brethren—with the want of any capacity—civil or military—with cowardice (derisive laughter)—and with a purpose to surrender the Union. It must be sufficient with all honest men acquainted with his history during the pendency of the present war, to refer to that history, as fully proving that each and every one of those charges is absolutely false. Whose skill and valor rescued West Virginia from the tread of the foe, and achieved a succession of victories that electrified every loyal heart? McClellan (cheers), who, because of those victories, was called to Washington to organize un-disciplined troops? (Cheers.) Who brought them, as the army of two Potomacs, to a state of discipline never excelled, and inspired them with a courage that has made them, when led by competent officers, the victors on every field where victory was possible to human effort? McClellan. (Cheers.) Who commanded them in the seven days' terrible battles of the Peninsula. (Cheers.) Who was it that with a skill never surpassed if equaled, rescued them from the dangers of that campaign, a campaign only unsuccessful because of a want of Mr. Lincoln's promised support. Who afterward, when by the mismanagement of their then recent leader they were demoralized, in a spirit of pure patriotism at the solicitation of the trembling President and when apparently all was lost placed himself once more at their head, and instantly reduced them to a high state of discipline, and made them once more invincible? McClellan. (Cheers.) Who led them forthwith to battle and victory at South Mountain and Antietam? (Cheers)—the same leader. What was the thought of the now traitorous McClellan? He received the thanks of the then commander-in-chief, Hiale K. of the President, and of Congress, expressed by each in terms as strong as our language supplies. In July, '61, Congress unanimously thanked him, his officers and soldiers, "for the recent brilliant victories over the rebels in Western Virginia." In May, '62, "for the display of those high military qualities which secure important results with but little sacrifice of human life." Who, with a full knowledge of his entire conduct in his Virginia campaign were, or professed to be, his friends? The President and Secretary of War, in terms of unstinted eulogy, did him all honor and assured him of their perfect and continued confidence. In a letter, recently brought to light, the authenticity of which has not been denied, dated the 5th of July, 1862, the Secretary assured him of his undiminished friendship, saying, (I use his own words), "I can only say, in this brief moment that there is no case in my heart, or in conduct for the cloud that wicked men have raised between us for their own base and selfish purposes. No man had a truer friend than I have been to you, and shall continue to be." (Laughter.) Was the Secretary sincere—will any friend of his say that he was not? He must have been. To suppose otherwise is to do him the foulest wrong—to charge him with a duplicity that, if true, no language could too strongly rebuke. He must have been sincere. In answer then to all the accusations against McClellan I appeal confidently to his whole military career; to the unbounded confidence of his troops; the daily observers of his conduct; to the testimony of the commander-in-chief, of the Secretary of War, the President and Congress. And for the same purpose, and with equal confidence, I appeal to his Harrison Landing letter to the President of the 7th of July, viz.: a letter pregnant with wisdom, and demonstrative of unyielding devotion to his country. (Cheers.) He has been unjustly censured for writing that letter, as if military commanders in every age had not advised their governments relative to measures calculated to affect the object of the war. The writing of such a letter, instead of being obstructive, was a high duty—and how dreadful the calamities that have resulted from the President's disregard of its advice. It may be suggested that the President's mind was afterwards changed, and that he lost the confidence he before had in McClellan. Is this so? Do we not know that this is not? His late postmaster-general, in a recent speech in New-York, referring to McClellan, stated "that the President held him to be patriotic, and had conferred with General Grant to bring him again into the field as his adjunct if he turned his back on the proposal of the peace Junta at Chicago." And, in a subsequent speech in Maryland, he reiterated the statement. Has Mr. Montgomery Blair since denied or qualified it? He has not. Is he ashamed of integrity? All who know him will answer yes, beyond all doubt. What he asserted was a fact, that he confessed to know, and had every opportunity

of knowing. As arrangement, he tells us, was made between the President and General Grant to bring McClellan again in the field as his adjunct, and that it was frustrated only because McClellan refused to say that the people of the country, if they desired it, should not be permitted to vote for him as a competitor of Mr. Lincoln for the presidency. What could be more unjust to the President than to suppose that at this period, when our army before Richmond is relied upon to strike a blow that is thought will be fatal to the rebellion, he would, even for the prize of the Presidency, place an incompetent soldier in an important command in that army—a command second only to that of the commander-in-chief? I have refrained only because I deemed it altogether unnecessary to do more than deal generally with the charges against our candidate. One, however, has been made that with your permission I will more particularly notice. It is that during the battle of Malvern he took refuge on board one of our gunboats in the James river. (Laughter.) There never was an allegation more totally false, and those who make it and who have read McClellan's report must know it to be false. In that report, after referring to his purpose to make a stand at Malvern, and to his having given instructions to General Barnard "for posting the troops as they arrived," he adds, "I again left for Malvern soon after daybreak, accompanied by several general officers. I once more made the entire circuit of the position, and then returned to Harall's, whence I went with Captain Rogers to select a final position for the army and its depots. I returned to Malvern before the serious fighting commenced, and after riding along the lines and seeing most cause to be anxious about the right remained at that vicinity." How full, if true, does this statement refute the charge? Does any one doubt its truth? Has Captain Rogers or any general officer of the army been applied to to make good the charge, or has any one of them so dishonored himself as to attempt it? Not one; and yet in the face of his report establishing its falsity, the charge is persistently and calumniously adhered to. (A voice—"That's all they have to say.") Again, McClellan and his friends are accused of disloyalty. I disdain to vindicate myself. From the moment the rebellion commenced to the present day, I have entertained no thought but of loyalty to the Constitution, and no wish but for the restoration of its authority over the entire land. (Loud applause. Three cheers for Mr. Johnson.) And in an humble way I have done everything in my power that seemed to me to contribute to that end. And happen what may, I shall never despair of its accomplishment until all hope is lost, and will then lament it as the most fatal catastrophe to ourselves and to constitutional freedom that the insanity, imbecility or wickedness of man can produce. And who is such a fool, or worse than a fool, as to impute disloyalty to McClellan? Everything that he has said or done since the rebellion began, from the period that he thrilled every loyal breast with delight by his triumphs in West Virginia, to the writing of his letter of acceptance of the Chicago nomination, is replete with loyalty. Was he disloyal when he achieved those victories—when he fought the seven days' battles of the Peninsula—when he wrote his Harrison Landing letter—when he won the victories at South Mountain and Antietam, when, on the order of the President and without a moment's hesitation or complaint, but with patriotic dignity, he surrendered the command of an army that literally idolized him, and, lastly, when he penned his letter of acceptance. The battles he fought tell of his devotion as well as his skill. His letters are in the same spirit; I give you a sentence or two from each. In that of July, 1862, he says, "Our cause must never be abandoned—it is the cause of free institutions and self-government. The Constitution and the Union must be preserved, whatever may be the cost in time, treasure, and blood." (Cheers.) "Let neither military disaster, nor political faction, shake your settled purpose to enforce the equal operation of the laws of the United States upon the people of every state." (Cheers.) In his letter of acceptance of the 8th of September, 1864, he states, "that the effect of his long and varied service in the army during war and peace, has been to strengthen and make indelible (his) kind and hearty love and reverence for the Union, Constitution, laws and flag of (his) country, impressed upon him in early youth." (Cheers.) That "the re-establishment of the Union in all its integrity is and must continue to be the indispensable condition of any settlement; that 'the Union must be preserved at all hazards; that 'the peace can be permanent without Union." (Loud cheers), and, with the spirit and wisdom (how different from Mr. Lincoln's doctrine and practice) he declared that "the rights of the citizens, and the

rights of law, and the binding authority of law over President, army, and people, are subjects of not less vital importance in war than in peace." (Cheers.)

With all this evidence before the public, no one, who is not wholly lost to truth, can call in question the loyalty of McClellan. Indeed, I ought to ask your forgiveness for noticing the calumny at all. His report of his military career has long been before the public, and those who have read it, and have intelligence and honesty cannot have failed to see that there never lived a more skillful, accomplished and patriotic soldier. His heart is in the cause of his country, and he served her with a zeal and effectiveness deserving of all praise until the vilest persecution to which a soldier was ever subjected drove him from the army. And when we know that, in addition to every other high quality, he is a refined and Christian gentleman; (cheers,) is it possible that an intelligent people can hesitate a moment in preferring him for the presidency, to the person who now, to our imminent danger, occupies that station—a station that demands for a proper discharge of its duties, and particularly at this time, the greatest ability, and at all times, (otherwise it is degraded) chasteness of conversation, gravity of deportment, courtesy of manner, and dignity of character. (Great applause.) All of these we know we will have in McClellan. Will they be had in his competitor? Let those who know him best answer. Gentlemen, I have detained you longer than I intended. A few words more and I shall have done. You must be satisfied that our country and institutions are in the greatest danger, and that there is no peaceful way of saving them than through the ballot-box. That must be left free. If you are worthy of the name of Americans, you will not suffer that to be denied to you. Should the military be used with that view, you will defeat it all hazards. Such interference will be unmitigated tyranny, and if it is resorted to, you will let the world know that although with the elder Adams, you are the friends of a "righteous government," you will, as he did, "glory in publicly avowing an eternal enmity to tyranny." Your manhood, your descent, your love of liberty, makes this an imperative duty. I am sure you will not fail to fulfill it. (Loud cheering.) As you appreciate the cause of constitutional government—as you regard the good opinion of its friends, who, in every part of the world, are intensely looking to you, for its vindication—as you value the happiness of the generations who are to follow, I invoke you to rally to the polls on the 8th of November, and there effect the result which, while it will be a crushing rebuke to the men in and out of power, who have put everything in peril from selfish and impatient motives, will, by placing the executive authority in the hands of the intelligent statesman, the gallant and accomplished soldier, the Christian gentleman—George B. McClellan—reinstates the rights of the states, and of the people; and, at an early day, restore the Union, and lead us on to a destiny even more glorious than it has heretofore achieved for us. (Loud and continued cheering.)

MERCHANTS FOR McCLELLAN.

Grand Mass Meeting of Bankers and Merchants in Wall Street.

BUSINESS MEN SWAPPING HORSES.

The Commercial Interest Demands a Change of Rulers.

THE AMERICAN FLAG FOR AMERICAN SHIPS.

Eloquent Addresses by Hon. S. J. Tilden, Hon. James Gallatin, Hon. Reverdy Johnson, Hon. John T. Hoffman, and others.

&c., &c., &c.

A very large and enthusiastic meeting of merchants and bankers was held yesterday afternoon at the corner of Wall and Broad streets. Three stands, decorated with the American flag, were erected, and meetings were not only held around these, but several others were organized *impromptu* in the vicinity, so great was the assembly, which numbered several thousands.

The meeting at the principal stand, facing the United States Assistant Treasurer's office, was called to order by Mr. Benjamin H. Field, who nominated Hon. James Gallatin to preside. He was elected unanimously, and addressed the audience as follows:

SPEECH OF HON. JAMES GALLATIN.

MERCHANTS OF NEW-YORK: We are assembled here to-day to give expression to our desire for the election of George B. McClellan. (Cheers.) This name points out to you the means by which you can maintain your liberties, restore the Union under the Constitution, and preserve our nationality. We are told that, in the midst of intestine troubles, we must patiently endure restraints which, in more peaceful times, would be regarded as the most odious tyranny. But is it, right, just, that in the loyal states, where active hostilities do not exist, to imprison upon mere suspicion—to condemn without trial—to punish American citizens, without affording them an opportunity of making a regular defense? thus to trample upon individual liberty, on the majesty of the law, and the safeguards of public freedom? Such stretches of absolutism are so repugnant to our conception of right and law that few, I am persuaded, will be disposed to admit the justifying plea of irresistible necessity. (Applause.) The people of the loyal states have furnished the government with all the means necessary for prosecuting the war with vigor and success. The great want of our country is ordinary intelligence in the men at the head of public affairs. Our brave sailors and soldiers have done their duty nobly and manfully. This most wicked deception would long since have been crushed, but for the in-

competency of our public men, and the frightful abuses and corruptions that have been tolerated by our rulers. I cannot describe to you the uneasiness and anxiety which exists in my mind in reference to the condition of our national finances. I look with dread and alarm to our future financial situation if Lincoln should be re-elected. But I will not now occupy your time by dwelling upon this subject. I have said a great deal on the finances of the country, within the past three years, and recently in an address before the Democratic Union Association have expressed the opinion that "if an ignominious peace be forced upon us, it will be from the mismanagement of the finances; I pray a merciful providence may avert such a calamity." When I look at the political horizon the prospect seems awful and gloomy to a degree at which the best men must shudder. Everything is turbid and portentous. Indeed, a blacker cloud never hung over America. I have, however, the utmost confidence in our great and good people, whom nothing can divert from a steady pursuit of the interest of their country; and sure I am that the present noble struggle for the preservation of the Union, the Constitution, and the laws will terminate gloriously in the election of General McClellan, and that peace and prosperity will again bless our united country. But while we are using all the means in our power to attain these ends, let us humbly commit our righteous cause to the great Lord of the Universe, to the Supreme Disposer of all human events. (Applause.)

Mr. Hosea B. Perkins then read the following at the officers of the meeting:

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

William H. Aspinwall,	Charles A. Lamont,
John J. Cisco,	John S. Beecher,
William B. Astor,	R. J. Hunter,
Arthur Lorillard,	S. H. Dibble,
Joseph W. Alsup,	John T. Agnew,
James Stokes,	Charles C. Adey,
John Wilkes,	Samuel Conliffe,
Joseph G. Hunt,	Harvey Kennedy,
Henry J. Gardiner,	N. W. Chester,
James Aus. Davis,	Andrew S. Mount,
John A. Lytle,	R. S. Britton,
Henry A. Stone,	Alfred H. Miller,
William Meller,	William J. H. Back,
John Phelps,	Benj. E. Field,
Edward Cooper,	Albert Haysmeyer,
John B. Ward,	Samuel G. Wheeler,
William H. Duncan,	H. A. Johnson,
George Andrews,	Gea W. Wyllie,
James Bryce,	Alfred B. Jarvis,
C. V. A. Schuyler,	D. M. Earl,
W. B. Corwin,	Daniel W. Teller,
James Robinson,	John J. Crane,
James Olwell,	Ellas Conyers,
William Koppe,	Ezra R. Goodridge,
Abraham Blumner,	Ovid Watts,
Robert L. Minkford,	Guineva Lisenberg,
Wm. Waldo, Jr.,	A. P. Pilot,
John S. Lawrence,	Joseph Batman,
S. Burkhalter,	Wm. B. Barnes,
Thomas F. Young,	Pitcher Westray,
W. A. Hale,	John C. Wells,
George Greer,	A. De Camp,
Wm. H. Nelson,	Freeman P. Woodbury,
	Leroy Nichols,

SECRETARIES.

Geo. W. McClean, Josiah Carpenter.

RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. McClean read the following resolutions:
Resolved, 1. That the merchants of New-York, here assembled, pledge themselves to the support and defense of the Union and Constitution.
Resolved, 2. That the Union must be preserved at all hazards.
Resolved, 3. That the Constitution must be restored to its supremacy over President and people, as the only safeguard of life, liberty, and property.
Resolved, 4. That the war should be conducted on the principles enunciated by General McClellan in his various orders, reports, and letters, and especially in the concluding portion of his report, and in the Harbinger's Bar letter, and that the sword in the hand of justice should be wielded, not with vindictive passion, but with all the force necessary to compel submission to violated law, and should be sheathed whenever the triumph of the law is secured.
Resolved, 5. That we present to the brave army and navy of the United States the grateful acknowledgments of the merchants of the Empire City, and that we look to them as the right hand of our future President.

aid at, in the war of preserving the Union and Constitution.

Resolved, 6. That the financial and commercial interests of the country demand a change in the administration of our public affairs.

Resolved, 7. That the policy of Mr. Lincoln, which insists on the prosecution of the war for the abolition of slavery, and refuses all negotiations for Union and peace until that abolition is perfected, presents to us a future of interminable war, oppressive debt, financial distress, commercial embarrassment and no hope of preserving that Union to which we pledge our unalterable devotion.

Resolved, 8. That the administration of Mr. Lincoln has not commanded the confidence of the country by its civil or military policy, and that it is only necessary, in proof of this, to point, first, to the depressed and fluctuating character of the currency, to the instability of all business arrangements, to the unintelligible and contradictory opinions of government-officials upon taxation, license, and other questions rising under the revenue laws, and to the fact that our shipping trade is driven to seek the protection of foreign flags, so that, whereas for the five years ending with 1861, the total value of goods carried in the foreign trade of this city under the American flag was over \$1,000,000,000, while the total under all foreign flags was only \$614,000,000, during the last two years only \$232,678,812 have been carried under our flag, while \$569,386,224 have found protection under the flag of alien, and for the last quarter of 1863 the total foreign trade was \$104,933,512, of which but \$11,965,646 was carried under the flag of the United States; and, second, to the fact that our armies have been interfered with, generals have been removed and appointed for political reasons, the military policy has been made to supercede and override the civil laws, and the grand truth that the administration has wholly failed to reap the fruit of the victories won by our brave soldiers on so many fields, and has not succeeded in sacrificing any portion of the territory we have conquered.

Resolved, 9. That in George B. McClellan we recognize a patriot and a soldier, whose character stands far above all the attacks of slander and malice. That his brave and successful career, twice saving the national capital, and always victorious, except when interfered with by the administration, gives the assurance that he is the man to lead our armies to victory in the field and our country to union and peace; and that we earnestly advocate the election of General McClellan to the presidency, as the true and only method of saving the nation from destruction and preserving the Union, and restoring to commerce and business of all kinds that security and prosperity on which the ability of the country to sustain itself must always depend.

SPEECH OF HON. SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

Hon. S. J. Tilden was next introduced, and spoke as follows:

MERCHANTS OF NEW-YORK: I expect to find considerable difficulty in addressing you to-day, owing to a very severe influenza, but I am not at liberty to refuse to participate in the patriotic sentiments of the commercial and business men of New-York. None in the vast expanse of our country have a deeper or a stronger interest in the preservation of national unity and constitutional liberty. I am glad to see men of wealth, men of vast property, men of great business requirements, come here to-day to join with the industrial classes of our city to help save the country—the priceless inheritance which we received from our fathers. (Applause.) Gentlemen, time would fail me and my strength would fail, to review the events which have characterized the administration that now conducts the affairs of our country; the errors in the civil policy, in their military system, and in their financial administration, that have brought our country, in spite of all illusions, to the very verge of ruin. Gentlemen, I know that an effort is being made to tide you over the election by holding out false, fallacious promises of results of Mr. Lincoln's election ("True.") You are to be deceived by the same policy that deceived some portions of our fellow-citizens into helping to elect him before. And when once the election shall be made, for four long years you must endure the calamities his re-election will entail upon you. What is the difference between his position and that of General McClellan? (Cheers for General McClellan.) President Lincoln is willing to negotiate with the South; but on what terms? He will negotiate only in case the

South will emancipate the negro held in slavery. When the South will agree to come back to us on the old relations that existed from the foundation of the government, he will turn them off unless they will carry out his scheme of negro philanthropy. What is General McClellan's position? He makes the Union of the states under the constitution of our fathers the sole condition of future peace. (Cheers.) He puts nothing before the Union. (Applause.) Mr. Lincoln puts his crude scheme of philanthropy before the Union, and the happiness of thirty millions of white men upon this continent. Gentlemen, I am no more a friend of slavery probably than Mr. Lincoln, as an abstract question; but I deem it to be my duty, and I think you will deem it to be yours, to treat it as a practical matter, in its actual existing relations. Suppose when we had the controversy with England about the Trent two years ago, we had got into a war, and by and by there came a time when we should negotiate. Do you like the House of Lords? ("No.") Do you think it is a good institution? ("No, no.") Would you have said to England, "We will not negotiate a peace with you until you abolish the House of Lords?" (Laughter.) Or would you have said, "That is your own business; come back to fair commercial relations and we will strike hands and be friends again?" (Applause.) I know it is said that the jealousy of the British aristocracy against the American democracy was what brought us then to the verge of war with England. But would you on that account have said we must extirpate the British aristocracy as the cause of the war? Would you have refused to negotiate until the British parliament should declare universal suffrage among the British people who sympathize with us—the common people of England, Ireland, and Scotland, or would you have said that they should manage their affairs in their own way and we will make peace with whoever in the world will treat us fairly in the relations which exist between us. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, suppose you attempt to carry on your war for an object that is impracticable. Your military treasures are but the means by which you attempt to achieve that object. Your financial system is merely the means by which you attempt to carry out your military measures. If you undertake to reconstruct human society over half a continent, how are you going to carry that out? In the first place, have you the physical power to make such a complete subjugation of the South as will accomplish that object? If you have not, how are you going to hold on this continent a population of eight millions of people of your own race, descendants of your own common parentage, the whites of the South? How are you going to impose the laws of New-York and Vermont upon Mississippi in regard to the relations that shall exist between a population half white and half black? You must, from the very nature of the case, make relations with somebody or you cannot carry out your system of government. The black race, will they help you? Can they help you? Have they any habits, have they any complicity to help you carry on a system of self-government on this North American continent? Must you not, then, make your relations with the white race? Such you pursue a system which by confiscating every man's property, besides obnoxious the social order, threatening every man as a rebel and a traitor with the punishment due to those offenses? Can you recall the South on that basis. ("No.") Gentlemen, a great man said very wisely half a century ago, that the rules of penal law were inadequate to deal with millions in a great civil war. We must take a larger, wiser, and more statesmanlike view. I say now as I said before this war commenced, that sooner or later, for the purpose of pacification you will be obliged to resort to something of the element of compromise. You may fight four years longer, but still in the end you have got to have somebody's help to enable you to carry on civil government on that portion of the continent. I have never hoped that in our military successes, if we

had them, we should achieve anything more than a condition of things in which we warlike and they warlike, we should return to the system of civil government under the old constitution of our fathers, under which we fought so long, and from which they have so madly and so wickedly departed. Now, gentlemen, what is the situation of these two gentlemen proposed to you as candidates in respect to this? Who is the Union man? ("McClellan," cheers.) General McClellan, who places nothing before the Union, or Abraham Lincoln, who places the emancipation of the slave before it? Are you willing to stake the priceless inheritance of a united country, united under the system of constitutional liberty; are you willing to place it upon the theory of a chimera that you shall take jurisdiction of the internal affairs of these distant and remote states, and deprive the white race of those states of that jurisdiction? ("No.") Now, gentlemen, that is the exact question you have to settle at this election. I am little able to speak to you, owing to a cold under which I labor, or I should desire to present more fully than I now can this view of the subject. Go forward at the election; give your votes for George B. McClellan. (Applause.) You give them for the Union, for the unity of the country, and you give them for constitutional liberty to its remotest bounds. Gentlemen, merchants of New-York; one of your number, since I came here to-day, has placed in my hands a record which, humiliating as it is, I must submit to your inspection. It is a record of some of the ships of our own port that have sought refuge under a foreign flag. Prominent among them is the good old ship United States, one thousand and twenty-two tons burden, which on the fourth of July sought refuge under the British flag. Another is the name of that distinguished merchant of Boston, Amos Lawrence. Another, and it will call a blush of tingling shame to every Democrat here that we live under an administration so little capable of asserting the rights and dignity of the country—another of them is Andrew Jackson. (Applause.) Aye, the old ship Andrew Jackson, sailing under the protection of that flag, fighting against which your fathers and mine and your grandfathers and my grandfathers have sealed in blood their devotion to our common country. (Applause.) I see my venerable friend here, Mr. Gallatin, whose father my father learned me to respect—a man who administered the finances of our country in the struggle with England in 1812 and 1815. Albert Gallatin, a name immortal (applause) in the history of this country, the chosen friend of Thomas Jefferson, the right hand of James Madison, the father of our Constitution. I see him here to-day, forgetting everything but that he is an American citizen, coming among the merchants of New-York to assert once more the rights and the honor of that honorable flag that waves above you, and points to the Star of Hope, under the guidance of McClellan. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I cannot assure you of the future, but I see many reasons to hope, and to hope strongly, that if you will show to the people of the South, that they have their choices to return to the old system of government, the old system of relations under which they and we prospered and were happy together; if you will hold out to them the promise of such a result, I think that you will win a Union party in the South. I think if Mr. Lincoln had been a wise man and a great statesman, he would have accepted tenders from them of negotiation. If they had offered terms that we could not agree to, at least they would have disclosed what would have compelled us all to join as one man in support of the Union and the Constitution. If, on the other hand they would have come back and restored the old constitution of things, would not we have been most glad to have poured such a result without further care? Gentlemen, I have not expected that until the illusion of pipe-moves should begin to break, we would have a return to sound sentiments and action on the

part of the people, sufficiently strong to force itself upon the government. Why, gentlemen, there are those among us revelling in the expanding values produced by paper money, who feel very much as a man feels under the influence of constantly increasing potations of strong drink, and who forget that just as sure as the system is continued, paper money, like strong drink, ends in delirium tremens. I warn those merchants of New-York who think that their merchandise and property will bring better prices if they elect Mr. Lincoln. I warn them that, before they are done with the system which his re-election inevitably fastens upon the country, they will reach a financial crisis that will turn the profitable advances to which they look, into dust and lead in their grasp. Let us have no illusions on this subject. History is full of recorded examples. I do not speak this from any feeling of partisanship. I would take Mr. Lincoln to-morrow, just as soon as any body else, if I believed in my heart and conscience that through him we could work out the national salvation. (Applause.) But I do not believe it, and now I am not one of those who are afraid to swap horses in crossing the stream. (Laughter and applause.) If I find that I am going under, if I find that my horse cannot reach the opposite shore, precisely what I will do will be to swap him for a younger and a stronger animal that will carry me through in safety. Gentlemen, it was well said by a distinguished eastern gentleman who spoke in this city some time ago, that this idea came from an administration that had swapped off its Secretary of the Treasury, its Secretary of War, its Postmaster-General, the commander of its army again and again, and, let me add, that has swapped off one policy for another in all the departments of the government, oftener than it has swapped off the men who managed those departments; vacillating, undecisive, chaotic administration, that, according to the testimony of Mr. Secretary Chase, has never held a cabinet council, ever man conducting his affairs in his own way; ever man, as the Secretary said, the President remarked, "running his own machine," without system, without plan, and to-day there is not one among them who has any idea where he is coming out, or where we are coming out, if we trust to their guidance. I happen to know something on that subject. I do not speak entirely at random when I say from the beginning of this administration up to to-day, there has not been a man in it who has had an intelligible plan which he could state to an intelligent man, of the way in which it was even probable the country would be extricated from its difficulty. That is the administration I am in favor of swapping off. (Applause.) I am in favor of putting the country once more under the guidance of the party that gave us Louisiana under Jefferson's administration, that gave California and Texas; that has always been willing that the boundaries of the republic shall be enlarged, but has never been willing to submit and never will submit, that the boundaries of the republic shall be curtailed. (Applause.) I am in favor of taking as the firm hope of the republic, that star and that waves over us, and through peace means, through military means, if necessary, through whatever means are necessary—events to bear it onward until it shall wave from the tower to the gulf and until it shall embrace beneath its shadow and protection a peaceful, happy, satisfied people, administering their own system of local self-government their own way, everywhere government carried on by the consent of the governed. (Applause.) Gentlemen, when, at the West, at the Chicago Convention, I had the pleasure of a long, earnest talk with our old friend, James Guthrie, formerly secretary of the treasury, and had the opportunity of a conversation with William B. Connelley, formerly governor of Tennessee. I the opinion of those men that state after state, the states together, would be gathered back to the national fold, if we should hold out in one hand the olive branch, as the nation now holds

he sword in the other. (Applause.) I know if you should elect George B. McJellian that he will have before him the most arduous and difficult duty that any man ever yet had. I know that the Democratic party would be better off as a party, if it should allow those who now administer the government to go on and complete their ruin, and then take the opportunity of building up something afterward. I do not forget the stupendous difficulties that are before anybody who shall attempt to carry on the government in the condition to which the administration of Mr. Lincoln has brought it; but, gentlemen, there is a higher consideration, a higher duty; it is to stand in the breach, and we owe it to ourselves, we owe it to the traditions of the Democratic party and to the memory of our gallant and heroic ancestors. Methinks even now, as our army has been fighting these bloody battles—where do you think? in a little district of country less than one of your counties, almost equidistant between the grave of Washington, the Father of his Country, and of Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, and of Madison, the author of the Constitution itself, in Eastern Virginia—I think sometimes I see from the ethereal heights that immortal galaxy of men looking down upon us. I see in the center the awful form of Washington. He watches and they watch what we shall do now; whether this generation is capable of rescuing from peril and perpetuating what they achieved for us and transmitted for us, in generations years ago. Are you fit, is this generation fit to conduct and manage American free government on this continent? Your verdict at the elections will go far to answer that question, and I say to you to-day, merchants of New-York, who have heard my voice on more than one former occasion, upon this subject, having acquitted myself at every cost of time and trouble, and of effort, of my own duty, I stand free from self-reproach, if this noble, immortal country and immortal Constitution should go to swell the list of rocks that float down the tide of time. But, gentlemen, it must be so, we must, we will, redeem the country. (Applause.) And at next week's elections we will pronounce the verdict that shall consummate an object so great and so glorious. (Cheers.)

Hon. Beverly Johnson was then introduced. He spoke as follows:

SPEECH OF HON. BEVERLY JOHNSON
In the present condition of our country it is an honor to be called upon to address the business men of New-York. As no class is more intelligent or more fitted by daily experience to comprehend the necessities of the nation, so no one more patriotic, or more devoted to its true interest and honor. (Applause.) When the rebel hand fired the first gun at the fortress over which floated our national banner, the business men of your proud city at once assembled and pledged themselves to the government, that whatever might be the cost, in blood or treasure, the outrage should be punished, and the flag, the symbol of union, and with which so many glorious memories were associated, should be vindicated, until, as in the years preceding our becoming a nation, it should wave unchallenged over every portion of the land, and be the blessing and that unity so vital to our existence as a peaceful, prosperous and powerful people. This pledge has been more than redeemed. During the entire presidency of Mr. Lincoln you have contributed in men and in money more than Napoleon possessed when he overran Europe and made monarchies his subjects. But with what results have your noble efforts been attended? Four years are now nearly at an end, and the Union as far, indeed further, from restoration than when the struggle began—and I am sorry to say to you the news was received here to-day that the last movement of the Army of the Potomac has proved a grievous failure, they having retired to their former position, gaining nothing, and with a loss of fifteen hundred men. You have an appalling amount

of debt, not less, it now liquidated, than one thousand millions of dollars, and increasing at the rate of two million a day, in excess of the most sanguine estimate of the daily receipts into the treasury from every source. ("That's so.") And every original friend of the Union (and they numbered hundreds of thousands, and were to be found in each of the Southern States), because of the policy of Mr. Lincoln, are now bound together as one man to prevent such a ruin as he and his ultra-partisans, those who shape his policy, alone offer them. In the beginning of this dreadful war, with a short-sightedness and folly unexampled in any government that civilized man has ever lived under, Mr. Lincoln stated that no man was hurt, and his Secretary of State, from sixty days to sixty days, with a hallucination that almost amounts to insanity, has predicted its early and successful termination! And yet it goes on, and treasure and blood, dearer to us all than treasure, is at this moment being expended with no apparent tendency to accomplish the object of the war—the only object for which, under the Constitution, it can be waged—the restoration of the Union in its original integrity. (Great applause.) To what is the failure to be ascribed? Our soldiers have outnumbered two to one those of the rebels. Our navy, almost as powerful as that of any nation in the world, and our officers, in both services, as skillful, gallant, and loyal as they were at New Orleans, when we conquered the veterans of Wellington in the war of 1812, and proved to England that their "march was on the ocean wave, her home was on the deep," so was ours, and so it should remain forever. (Cheers.) To what cause, then, is the failure to be ascribed? No man who knows what the feelings of the southern people were when the war began, and who will reflect calmly and without prejudice, will hesitate to ascribe it to the policy which Mr. Lincoln and his party have for the last two years adopted—confiscation acts and emancipation proclamations and the outrages perpetrated by some military men, unrebuked, which have done us, and are doing us, more great harm in the estimation of the civilized world. (Applause.) If Mr. Lincoln is re-elected, (Voices—"He won't be") the same policy will be continued; and so far from his having given any indication of the purpose of changing it for a while, a more drastic and more humane one, his more active adherents on the stump, and through the press, are for maintaining a war of extermination of the white men of the South. ("That's so.") The conversion of that beautiful region—a region from which countless millions have in the past been poured into the lap of this state—into a desert, and then calling it peace! ("Shame!") Humanity and Christian liberty cry aloud against the foul and fiendish design. The peace that the vast majority of the people want and pray for is a peace that will cause us again to be a band of brothers living under the Constitution that our fathers bequeathed us, enjoying the regulated liberty it is so admirably designed to secure, and having one and the same destiny—that destiny which an intelligent and virtuous people, under the Constitution, if true to themselves, can achieve—a destiny of individual happiness, social prosperity, and an honored and powerful name. ("Good.") But to secure these the administration must be changed. It is obvious, it must be obvious to the dullest intellect, that this glorious end cannot be accomplished by Mr. Lincoln, first, because he is not leaving any of the freedom of the Constitution so carefully secured. He is, at this very moment, trampling upon it all. Individual protection against the executive tyranny, where is it? Look to the hundreds and thousands whom he has had incarcerated. Look to the hundreds of instances of domestic papers, whose editors were honest enough to denounce his policy, oppressed. (Applause.) Look to his indecent and shameless refusal even to listen to the courteous request of the editors—to one of them, the Baltimore Evening Post—for recess, though told to the paper, which was the

pretense for its suppression ("Shame!")—exhibited to him to prove it, that it contained nothing adverse to him or his policy that could be deemed disloyal unless it was that the editor preferred for the presidency for the next four years, McClellan and Pennington to Lincoln, and Johnson. (Great applause.) Look to his more recent course and insulting language to the Tennessee delegation, who applied to him to protect the citizens of that state against the totally illegal and beastly corrupt military order of his military governor, issued not in a private but official capacity, the clear and palpable object of which was to prevent any vote being cast in the state at the coming election, except for himself and his military support. Look to his subsequent letter on the same subject, refusing to interfere, on the ridiculous and false ground that it was a matter beyond his control and insulting the outraged people of that gallant state by telling them that the order would do them no harm, as it left them the option of not voting at all—the option of leaving the election in that state to be managed by Governor Johnson in his own way, and for his and Mr. Lincoln's benefit. (Groans.) In the early days of this republic what would have been the fate of a President who had committed such an act of gross tyranny? The devoted lovers of political freedom of these days would soon have satisfied him that he had better never have been born. And lastly, look at the scheme of arresting the agents of your state who have been engaged in obtaining the soldiers' votes. I firmly believe that the pretense for the arrest is wholly unfounded ("That's so"), but whether it is so or not, Mr. Lincoln has no more right to interfere with it by trial or punishment than he would have to attempt such jurisdiction over a fraud alleged to have been perpetrated in a foreign country. If there be any one right more exclusively, belonging to the states than any other under the Constitution, it is the right to manage all of their elections in their own way, and by laws of their own creation. And look to the state of the currency. (A voice—"How are you, greenbacks?") How can you carry on your business with one even as valueless as it is now, and certain to become less valuable if Mr. Lincoln is re-elected ("That's so.") (Applause.) Your state banks are to be driven out of existence—the taxation power is to be used for that purpose. This was openly avowed on the floor of the Senate in so many words. With a currency so depreciated now is the poor man to support himself and family? How is the clerk or agent, or laborer, to live on his fifteen hundred or two thousand dollars? ("Sure enough.") It will be impossible. Rain is before you if Mr. Lincoln is fixed upon the country for four years more. ("That's so.") We can arrest him but one way—by voting for McClellan and Pennington. (Great applause.) "We will, we will." The currency has been tampered with. The party of Mr. Lincoln struck a blow at your rights to make contracts for goods by a ridiculous and wholly illegal law. It was so palpably absurd, unconstitutional and malicious, that, in a few days after its passage by Mr. Lincoln, it was repealed by a vote nearly unanimous in each house. And be not alarmed, I know and I am sure you will not be by the totally illegal military order of General Dix. Its purpose is palpable, and is a purpose that will burn fire and kindle wrath in the heart of every true American. (Applause.) Be not alarmed again at the recent threat coming from a partisan of Mr. Lincoln's party, but who, not long since stated to the American people in a carefully drawn paper that he despised him and esteemed him both as fool and usurper. I allude to the threat made in a speech in Philadelphia a night or two since, and published in the Times newspaper of to-day, that "if New-York, due to wriggle at the re-election of Mr. Lincoln, she must lock her ports." Your ports is to be blockaded, your custom-house closed, martial law declared, if exercising the rights of freemen, or if you

should even by a "wriggle" disclose dissatisfaction with Mr. Lincoln. Vain and impudent threat. Should an attempt be made to carry it out, the arm of Mr. Lincoln and the arms of his adherents will fall paralyzed and palsied before the mighty power of the Empire State. (Immense applause.) The condition of the country consequent on these frequent and reckless violations of the Constitution, it is sad to consider. Does not every man feel that they cannot much longer continue without fearful convulsions? Does he not know that there is a deep-seated detestation of tyranny in every true American heart, and an equally deep-seated attachment to liberty, which, if aroused, will, with the force of a mighty avalanche, sooner or later hurl defiance against all who shall dare to invade it? (Applause.) I think I almost hear now its mighty voice. The very earth seems to tremble with apprehension. Let every man, therefore, who values peace, personal and social security, national honor and the Union, so dear to our fathers, but not dearer to them than to us, so conduct himself on the 8th of November next that all fear of convulsion will subside, by placing in the presidential office one who will be true to the Constitution, true to humanity, "and all hazards true to the Union"—George B. McClellan. (Immense and continued applause, during which Mr. Johnson retired.)

SPEECH OF RECORDER NORMAN.

Hon. John T. Hoffman, recorder of the city, was next introduced amid loud applause. Four years ago, he said, this nation was engaged in a political contest upon the issue of which depended its peace and prosperity. It was the first time in the history of the country when a sectional party, strong enough to have a hope of success, had organized in the country. After nearly four years experience of the rule of this party the merchants and capitalists have met together to declare that the only certain way of restoring an honorable peace, with the Union, is by hurrying Abraham Lincoln from power and placing the government in the hands of patriots and statesmen. (Loud cheers.) When Abraham Lincoln came in power a wicked rebellion was inaugurated against the government. He declared that the sole object of his administration was to restore the Union, and at his call seventy thousand men, and seventy five thousand upon seventy-five thousand rallied to our standard, until Senator Wilson declared in the Senate of the United States that volunteering must be stopped. (Laughter.) So went on until Mr. Lincoln departed from the policy which he had announced at the commencement of the war, and declared that the war should be continued until southern slavery was abolished by the force of arms. A series of proclamations, and of arbitrary and untraceable acts of Congress, followed until the South became a unit, and the enthusiasm of the North was materially checked. What has been the result? We find to-day that more than five hundred thousand men have been killed or rendered unfit for service, and two millions of men have been torn from the ordinary avocations of life, and from being producers have become consumers, and to-day there is no solitary ray of hope that if this administration is continued you will ever have a restoration of peace under the Constitution. You have a floating debt of two thousand millions, and a funded debt of two thousand millions more, and your local debts, your state, county, and town debts add hundreds of millions more. Everything you have from the time you are born to the time you die is taxed. A few days ago the *Evening Post* published an article intended to be very consolatory to the American people, showing that our taxes are not yet as great as those of England and Austria. (Laughter.) If in three years of a Republican administration we have come to such a pass that it is necessary to make a comparison between our taxes and those of England and Austria, it is better to change the administration, lest the time come when

the *Evening Post* cannot write such consolatory articles. In referring to this meeting the *Evening Post* again consoles us by bidding us remember the French assignats and the old continental currency. Unless we elect an administration which will give us a better currency and a better system of finance than the one now in power has done, we may be perpetually reminded of the French assignats and the continental currency. (Applause.) It is not necessary here to call over the list of the monstrosities of this administration. Need you be reminded of the suppression of the habeas corpus, of the arrest and incarceration of peaceful citizens, of the suppression of newspapers? The editor of the only McClellan paper in Maryland, which had been suppressed by Abraham Lincoln, waited, the other day, seven hours in the ante-room of the White House, with a letter to the President from the distinguished senator who preceded me, simply to ask the permission of his royal majesty Lincoln to be allowed to publish his paper; and he was not even recognized as much as a menial at the door. Need you be reminded of the act of Congress that the order of Abraham Lincoln shall be a sufficient defense in any court for any act done or omitted to be done by any of the President's minions? Need you be reminded that Andrew Johnson, military governor of Tennessee, appointed by Mr. Lincoln and the candidate for Vice-President on the ticket with Mr. Lincoln, has issued an order for an election-oath, designed to prevent any McClellan man in that state from voting, and that Mr. Lincoln, when called upon by the citizens of that state to ask for freedom of the ballot, merely answered them that he intended to manage his side of this election in his own way, ("Shame, shame,") and that in his written letter on the subject a few days afterwards he declared he had no power over local matters? Since when has Mr. Lincoln declined to interfere in the affairs of states? He seems to have changed his mind amazingly since when, in the face of the free people of this country, he has arrested the New-York state agents, imprisoned them, and tried them by military commission. ("Shame, shame,") (Applause.) It is said that a meeting is to be held to-morrow by men calling themselves War Democrats, but whose object is to help-elect Mr. Lincoln. They may attempt to cover themselves with the lion-skin as much as they please, but everybody will know that it is Snigg, the Joner. (Laughter.) I am reminded by them that coming down the street to-day, I saw, in front of one of the stores, what looked very much like a big black bear, but, on closer inspection, I found that it was merely a sign that there were goods for sale inside. (Laughter.) He was completely sewed up; his eyes were glassy, and, gentlemen, that bear was very dead. So those gentlemen who attempt, under the guise of war Democrats, to carry any part of the Democratic party over to the support of the abolitionists, will find, before they get through, that they are very dead. (Laughter and applause.) From some statements which I have heard recently, on good authority, it is not certain who some of the gentlemen whose names are mentioned in connection with the affair will vote for after all. (Cheers.) A voice: "They'll vote for McClellan." The acts of this administration was attempted to prevent the soldiers of the State of New-York from voting are enough to excite the indignation of every patriot. Colonel Norb., of Otsego county of this state, a man of unsullied reputation, a man well known throughout the state, is the state agent for the State of New-York at Washington, for the purpose of attending, among other things, to the transmission of soldiers' votes. In the twinkling of an eye, without a warning, he was seized by the military servants of our military President, hurled into prison, and is being tried before a military commission, without even having had the opportunity to telegraph to his friends at home for means of defense. One would have thought that an administration the head of which was a candidate for popular enfeeblement would

at least have telegraphed to the governor of the State of New-York, if he believed frauds had been committed, and said: "Your agent has been arrested for the commission of frauds. Send on another in his place." So, too, in reference to the two men in Baltimore—of whom I know nothing—who were seized and tried by military commission, and sentenced, before any opportunity of defense was given to show whether or not it was merely a plot of the administration to assassinate them. I am happy to say that Horatio Seymour (those tremendous cheers for Governor Seymour), the governor of the State of New-York (cheers), whose moral character is as pure as his record, has taken the matter in hand, and will demand satisfaction (cheers); and the miserable journals who have dared to assail his pure name in connection with this matter have to-day been obliged to acknowledge that their charges were false. (Cheers.) General Hobart Ward, appointed and commissioned by Governor Seymour to visit his old brigade and circulate votes among them, when he arrived in Washington was told by the War Department that he should not go near his old men. ("Shame.") As to General McClellan's answer to the slanders that have been heaped upon him, it is only necessary for him to say that he was called to the command of the army upon the recommendation of General Scott (applause); that he was unanimously thanked by the Western Virginia legislature; that Congress twice unanimously tendered its thanks to him, and that Abraham Lincoln himself has thanked him a least eleven thousand times; for, on July 8, he telegraphed to him "Ten thousand thanks," and said on July 5, he adds a thousand more. (Laughter.) His platform is his record, and his letter of acceptance. Let platform be his letter "to whom it may concern." The hope of the country is in the conservative party. President says Lincoln's administration has been militarily, politically and financially a failure. Fanaticism never saved a country. It has sent many a man to the stake as a martyr, but never plucked one from the flame. Its progress through the world has been marked by bloodshed and desolation; it has leveled many temples and palaces to the ground, but never erected another in their stead. It has plunged many people in blood. (Applause.) If the administration of Abraham Lincoln is perpetuated through your aid my lifetime, it can never make a place. The country will become a counterpart of Mexico. Let us rally then, and by a decided majority at the coming election, give Mr. Lincoln to understand that his Tennessee election, his newly-created states, his interference with our soldiers' votes, and with local matters everywhere, have been marked by the people with their seal of condemnation, and upon the 4th of March next there shall be inaugurated into power a new administration, conservative in its tendencies, and having, for its one condition of peace, the restoration of the Union under the Constitution. (Great applause.)

After three rousing cheers for McClellan and Pardonator, the meeting at this stand adjourned.

STAND NUMBER TWO.

The meeting was called to order at this stand by Mr. S. Brentar. Eloquent addresses were made by Mr. S. A. Aiken, of Washington, Hon. Gilbert Dean, Captain Isaiah Ryderson, Chauncey Shaffer, Henry C. Meade, and Alderman Douglas, of Brooklyn.

TAND NUMBER THREE.

This stand was located corner of Broad street and Exchange Place. The meeting was organized by Hiram Ketchum, Sr., who nominated Ezra W. Goodridge, as permanent chairman. Hon. W. B. Carter of Tennessee, Horas B. Perkins, General J. H. Hobart Ward, Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, Captain Newell Francis J. Tucker, and others spoke at this stand.

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RADICAL DEMOCRACY CONVENTION, CLEVELAND

(Political Puzzle of 1864 No. 5)

Groups opposed to the reelection of Abraham Lincoln in 1864, already rebuffed in two organized efforts to sidetrack his nomination, planned a third and more potent effort to prevent his selection as a presidential candidate. They called a conclave to proceed by one week the regular political convocation of the party set for June 7th. Completely failing in their effort to start a Chase for President boom by the use of the Pomeroy circular and also repudiated in their attempt to postpone the Baltimore convention, they sent out a call for a political conclave to be held at Cleveland on May 31.

The call was addressed to "The Radical Men of the Nation" and signed by R. Gratz Brown, Lucius Robinson, John Cochran, Frederick Douglass, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, George B. Cleaver, James Redpath, Wendell Phillips and Emil Pretorius. An observer classified those interested in this project in three groups: 1. Extreme Abolitionists, 2. Administration Foes, 3. Rebel Sympathizers. The party name chosen was "Radical Democracy."

The editor of *Harper's Weekly* drew this conclusion about the call for the political conclave: "Its ostensible motive was dissatisfaction with the administration but its chief inspiration was the desire for personal revenge. It was the work partly of angry and intriguing, partly of impractical men. . . . The Cleveland Convention was called by men who despaired of controlling the Union Convention at Baltimore."

The time element was an important factor in the setting up of this meeting. Its sponsors felt that with a candidate already in the field, by placing the meeting a week earlier than the Baltimore gathering, they would make the latter assembly appear as a divisive movement.

The person around which this effort began to evolve was General John C. Fremont. He was the Republicans unsuccessful candidate for the presidency in 1856. Yet the fact that he was the first nominee of the Republican party for the presidency gave him some strength among the founders. It is a strange coincidence that Abraham Lincoln in the 1856 convention was seriously considered for the Vice-Presidency as a running mate for Fremont. With a little more effort on the part of Lincoln's friends the first Republican ticket might have read "Fremont and Lincoln." Although Lincoln with 110 votes ran second to Dayton in the contest, the latter secured the nomination.

Two other factors contributed to Fremont's support. The rabid abolitionists were back of him for his proclamation liberating slaves. Lincoln considered this a political thrust rather than "within the range of military necessity." This proclamation Lincoln rescinded and drew upon himself the life long enmity of Fremont. The other factor was Fremont's attack on the Blairs which encouraged the anti-Blair factions to support Fremont.

As early as March 1864 Fremont had signified his intentions of soliciting the presidential nomination. It was anticipated, however, by his early supporters that he would seek the nomination through the usual channels of the National Union Convention, but when it became evident that Lincoln would likely be renominated, his more ardent supporters looked for other means for his advancement.

One editor reacted to the Fremont candidacy as follows: "With what profound sorrow those who have known the name of Fremont only as the watchword of Liberty and Union now hear him repeating the cry of Vallandigham and the Copperheads, adopting their extreme position as his own. . . . Was it worth-while to cease to be the Fremont of June 1856 to be the Fremont of June 1864?"

One of the earliest telegrams to come out of the Cleveland Convention on May 31 was sent to Secretary Blair by E. Cowles, postmaster of Cleveland, who stated: "Convention tremendous fizzle less than two hundred from abroad consisting of disappointed contractors, sore-head governors and copperheads." A ludicrous incident occurred in the convention when the same postmaster Cowles went to the platform to interview a person seated there and was called "vociferously for a speech" although a loyal Lincoln man.

Lincoln received a report of the convention in its early stages from S. Newton Pettis who wrote:

"I left the *monster* convention a few minutes since and in all sincerity I must say that up to the present time it is the most perfect failure, the most magnificent fizzle I ever looked in upon claiming to be a convention. It has neither members nor talent to commend it to confidence and is destitute of all enthusiasm. Take from the body assembled Gen. John Cochran of New York and ex Gov. Johnson of Pennsylvania and in my opinion a motion to go into mourning would be perfectly in order upon any member of the convention. . . . Fremont men seem determined to control and run the convention, with him all the time in command."

General Fremont's acceptance of the Cleveland nomination was also timed so as to prevent if possible the selection of Mr. Lincoln at Baltimore. On the very eve of the convention Fremont's political letter was published. He took occasion to reveal that the ground on which he stood is "implacable hostility to the continuance of the administration in power." The editor of the *New York Herald* sums up Fremont's purpose in these words which might be called Fremont's message to the Baltimore Convention:

"Drop Abraham Lincoln and nominate a new man, and I am with you, but if you put up Mr. Lincoln for a second term I will do my best as an independent candidate to defeat his election."

The main objective of the Cleveland convention and the subsequent acceptance letter of its candidate both failed to disturb as anticipated, the procedure of the Baltimore convention. Joseph Gillespie wrote to Lincoln on June 10, 1864 his reaction to the Cleveland proceedings in these words:

"There is an evident giving way of the friends of Fremont. I think his nomination and his acceptance was intended to frighten your friends into the nomination of some one other than yourself. But since that could not be done they will now place themselves in cooperation with the copperheads, for my opinion is that there will not be a corporal's guard left with Fremont by the election day who were of the Union Party."

The friends of Fremont did not entirely give up until after the Democratic Convention at Chicago, hoping he might be recognized there. He was never much stronger than he was in March when he was first set forth as a candidate.

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THE FREMONT WITHDRAWAL

(Political Puzzle of 1864 No. 11)

Historians have given much attention to the withdrawal of presidential candidate, John C. Fremont, from the political campaign of 1864. Neither at the time of his nomination nor during the intervening months up to his retirement, did he have any considerable number of followers, but he did personify the opposition to the administration. His own personal hostility to Mr. Lincoln kept him in the race until the growing strength of the President swept aside nominal opposition. The fact that the announcement of Fremont's withdrawal from the contest on September 21, was followed two days later by the retirement of Montgomery Blair as Secretary of the Treasury has led many historians to support the thesis that some deal was made between the President and Fremont with Thad. Stevens presumably holding the stakes. The friends of Fremont deny this and anyone who believes in the integrity of Lincoln and then reads his reply to Stevens on this same subject will have difficulty in concluding that any preliminary promises were made.

As early as March 9, 1864 J. Woodruff wrote to Abraham Lincoln a word of warning about his retaining members of the Blair family in his cabinet. He stated: "You will be politically ruined if you hold on to the Blair tribe much longer. They never had anything to do with any one unless they left their sting. I am afraid you will find this out too late. If you will kick them out of your presence you will be our next President and otherwise you will not." Such warnings reached Lincoln periodically throughout the summer months of 1864 from the many enemies of the prominent Maryland family and there is no doubt that he realized the Blairs were a political debit long before Fremont's entrance into the contest.

It is apparent that up to the very hour of the opening of the Chicago Democratic Convention on August 29 Fremont was more or less hopeful of running against the President in 1864. With the little show of interest manifested in his candidacy by the Union Party he began to court the Democrats and when the delegates took their seats at Chicago they found in each chair a circular advocating Fremont's nomination. His failure to receive any recognition by the convention paved the way for his fading out of the political picture.

The strange procedure of the Chicago Convention which nominated a war candidate to run on a peace platform prohibited the enemies of the administration from throwing their strength to the Democrats as the influential Thurlow Weed had proposed to do. The action of the Convention caused the Astor House clique in New York City to call another meeting which attempted to bring all the forces, critical of the administration, together. Weed wrote to Seward that he had been invited to collaborate with the group that contained many of his personal enemies. He also advised the Secretary of State that the last meeting of the anti-Lincoln junta "was held last week in the house of Dudley Field. It was attended by H. Greeley, Goodwin, Wilkes, Tilman, Opdyke, Curtis, Noyes and twenty-five others of the same stripe."

Apparently one of the projects developed by the group was the sending out of a questionnaire to the governors

of the various states attempting to learn the political strength of the President. These are the three questions which were submitted:

1. In your judgment is the re-election of Mr. Lincoln a probability?
2. In your judgment can your own state be carried for Mr. Lincoln?
3. In your judgment do the interests of the Union Party, and so the country, require the substitution of another candidate in the place of Mr. Lincoln?

Governor James T. Lewis of Wisconsin answered the third question in these words: "In my judgment the interests of the Union Party, the honor of the nation, and the good of mankind demands that Mr. Lincoln should be sustained and re-elected." However as late as September 18 a note was written to Montgomery Blair and shown to Lincoln which submitted this problem: "With such men as Belmont, Sherman and Corwin and other millionaires against us you can see how easily it would be to get a corruption fund of ten or twenty million greenbacks put up by parties who if successful would gather four times the amount." On the same day Thurlow Weed wrote to Seward that: "Raymond says Mr. Lincoln is refusing to avail of an element of strength. This if it be needed is not wise, is not well, if all is right without it, then let it go. But I would hold the power until after the October elections." This reference may have been to the Fremont support.

There can be no question but what the withdrawal of Fremont and the subsequent resignation of Blair clarified the political situation and presented a united front for administration forces. While the followers of Fremont and the anti-Lincoln constituency which used Fremont as a threat were pacified, Montgomery Blair and his followers were not offended. The Lincoln Papers in the Library of Congress contained a letter written immediately after the resignation by Francis Preston Blair, Jr., in answer to a letter from his father, F. P. Blair. It hints that possibly Montgomery Blair was a voluntary sacrifice on the altar of Lincoln's political success in 1864.

Here are some of the junior F. P. Blair's reactions to his brother Judge Montgomery Blair's resignation: "Indeed before I received your letter my instinct told me that my brother had acted his part for the good of the country and for the reelection of Mr. Lincoln in which the safety of the country is involved. I believe that the failure to reelect Mr. Lincoln would be the greatest disaster that could befall the country and the sacrifice made by the judge to arrest this is so incomparatively small that I felt it would not cost him a pang to make." The brother of the retiring Postmaster General concluded his letter with this comment: "I have no fears if Mr. Lincoln's election is assured, no matter what his personal disposition may be towards us or what his political necessities may compel him to do."

Lincoln received many comments on the withdrawal of Blair and one writer suggested that Horace Greeley should be his successor. An Albany correspondent states, "Sheridan's victory is glorious but it is excelled by the removal of Blair." Still another critic felt that, "The change will be worth thousands of votes to you and our country's cause."

